

## The Old Jephthah Tale in Judges: Geographical and Historical Considerations

It is widely accepted that the Book of Judges includes substantial North Israelite traditions that originated in the Iron Age. Fifty years ago Wolfgang Richter<sup>1</sup> described their first appearance in writing as The Book of Saviors, which is now embedded in the Deuteronomistic (with post-Deuteronomistic additions) Book of Judges<sup>2</sup>. The portion of the early tale in each narrative that is considered part of this “book” differs, and so, evidently, is the scope of the later additions and redactions.

The role of the Jephthah story (Judges 10,6 – 12,7) in Judges has been debated. Richter<sup>3</sup> argued that it was not part of the Book of Saviors<sup>4</sup>, and Noth<sup>5</sup> proposed that the original Jephthah story could have belonged to the account of the Minor Judges<sup>6</sup>. As far as I can judge, the arguments for the exclusion of the Jephthah story from the Book of Saviors come from the massive Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic additions to (or omissions from) the original tale. In this article I wish to delineate an old North Israelite Jephthah tale that belongs to the Saviors genre — a tale which is veiled behind later additions and redactions. I would argue that this old story, though relatively short, contains enough material, including geographical details that distinguish it from the short accounts of the Minor Judges. My main goal, therefore, is to isolate the old core of the tale, reconstruct its geographical setting and try to understand its historical background<sup>7</sup>.

My basic premises are as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> W. RICHTER, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch* (BBB 18; Bonn 1966).

<sup>2</sup> For a review of this idea and its reception in biblical research, see P. GUILLAUME, *Waiting for Josiah* (JSOTSS 385; London 2004).

<sup>3</sup> W. RICHTER, “Die Überlieferungen um Jephtah: Ri 10,17 – 12,6”, *Bib* 47 (1966) 485-556.

<sup>4</sup> Also J.A. SOGGIN, *Judges: A Commentary* (London 1981) 207; GUILLAUME, *Waiting for Josiah*, 144-145; a different view in M. NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament (Darmstadt 1943) 48-49; U. BECKER, *Richterzeit und Königtum*. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Richterbuch (BZAW 192; Berlin 1990) 222.

<sup>5</sup> NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 48.

<sup>6</sup> Recently R.D. NELSON, “Ideology, Geography, and the List of Minor Judges”, *JSOT* 31 (2007) 347-364.

<sup>7</sup> Much of the discussion of Judges 10,6 – 12,7 has been devoted to the

- I accept the existence of pre-Deuteronomistic Northern traditions in Judges<sup>8</sup>.
- The old tales belong to the genre of heroic stories<sup>9</sup>; there are no divine acts in them<sup>10</sup>.
- The old stories are local in nature, representing a town, a clan (Abiezer in the Gideon narrative) or, possibly, a “tribe” (Benjamin in the case of Ehud).
- These old traditions were transmitted orally until collected and committed to writing in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Richter<sup>11</sup> advocated an earlier date, in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; others opted for the Assyrian period)<sup>12</sup>. The date proposed here is based on three considerations: 1) What we know today regarding the proliferation of literacy and scribal activity in the southern Levant in general and the territory of the Northern Kingdom in particular<sup>13</sup>; Hebrew appears in a trickle in

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Jephthah vow, which will be mentioned only in passing. For recent treatment and literature see M. BAUKS, *Jephtas Tochter*. Traditions-, religions- und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zu Richter 11,29-40 (FAT 71; Tübingen 2010); W. GROSS, “Jiftachs Rolle in der Erzählung von seinem Gelübde”, *Studien zum Richterbuch und seinen Völkernamen* (eds. W. GROSS – E. GASS) (SBAB 54; Stuttgart 2012) 8-43; ID., “Jiftachs Tochter”, *Studien zum Richterbuch*, 44-63. For detailed commentaries on the Jephthah story see W. GROSS, *Richter* (HTKAT; Freiburg 2009) 537-632; J.M. SASSON, *Judges 1–12*. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (New Haven, CT 2014) 314-455. Much space has also been devoted to ethical issues in the Jephthah narrative, but these are all prone to modern standards and evaluations (GROSS, *Richter*, 616).

<sup>8</sup> RICHTER, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 319-343, esp. 342, 343; contra BECKER, *Richterzeit und Königtum*, 300-306. But note that Becker too considered the existence of an older tradition behind the work of the Deuteronomistic Historian (*Richterzeit und Königtum*, 222). A. LOGAN (“Rehabilitating Jephthah”, *JBL* 128 [2009] 665-685) argues that Jephthah is positively compared to David and sees much of the story as pre-Deuteronomistic Southern narrative from the days of Manasseh. The current article shows why this idea cannot be accepted — either geographically or chronologically.

<sup>9</sup> C.L. ECHOLS, “*Tell me, O Muse*”. The Song of Deborah (Judges 5) in the Light of Heroic Poetry (New York 2008); S. ISSER, *The Sword of Goliath*. David in Heroic Literature (SBL Series 6; Atlanta, GA 2003); more below.

<sup>10</sup> For the Jephthah story, see GROSS, *Richter*, 616.

<sup>11</sup> RICHTER, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 340-341.

<sup>12</sup> E.A. KNAUF, “History in Judges”, *Israel in Transition*. 2. *From Late Bronze II to Iron IIA (c. 1250-850 BCE)*. The Texts (ed. L.L. GRABBE) (LHBOTS 521; New York 2010) 140-149; K. SCHMID, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (Minneapolis, MN 2012) 79.

<sup>13</sup> I. FINKELSTEIN – B. SASS, “The West Semitic Alphabetic Inscriptions, Late

the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but complex literary texts (Tell Deir Alla, Kuntillet Ajrud)<sup>14</sup> are evident for the first time after ca. 800 BCE. 2) Historical observations — the stories represent the territory of Israel, and there is no logic in dating them after the demise of the Northern Kingdom. 3) Clues in the layer which may be associated with the North Israelite author who committed the heroic stories to writing (more below).

- The long period of oral transmission before the stories were committed to writing means that even the “original” oral tales could have been layered, though this is impossible to verify.
- The first written version went through several expansions and redactions. These include late North Israelite, Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic layers, which evidently portray concerns and goals of their time.
- Considering the long oral and then literary history of the traditions, materials — including essential information on the original tales — could also have been omitted.

In order to study the geography and historical background of the old tale, it needs to be isolated from the later additions. Below is my suggested “peeling-away” of the story, based on inner biblical clues, linguistic and toponymic considerations, flow of the narrative and its logic, role of the deity, etc.

### I. Additions to the Old Tale

Below I suggest removal of the later materials, from early to late (Table 1), starting with the North Israelite author who composed the first written text in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. His hand is minimal; it includes:

- 11,4-5a. Expansion of the local story to an all (North) Israelite conflict. This is true also for 11,33b — “for the Ammonites were subdued before the people of Israel”. This kind of expansion of the tale to broader territory/groups than the original is also characteristic of other cases in the supposed Book of Saviors.
- The expansion of the theater of operations to “Gilead and Manasseh” (v. 29a).

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Bronze II to Iron IIA: Archeological Context, Distribution and Chronology”, *HeBAI* 2 (2013) 149-220.

<sup>14</sup> For the latter see recently N. NA’AMAN, “The Inscriptions of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud through the Lens of Historical Research”, *UF* 43 (2012) 1-43.

- 11,33a. This includes geographical information and hence deserves a detailed discussion.

Judges 11,33a reads: “And he smote them from ‘Aroer to the neighborhood of Minnith, twenty cities, and as far as Abel-keramim”. This description delineates the border of the Northern Kingdom with Ammon and Moab in the period of time between the withdrawal of the Omrides from the *mishor* in Moab (ca. 840 BCE) and the take-over of the Gilead by Rezin of Damascus about a century later; this territorial disposition is echoed in the description of the conquest of the Damascene territories in Transjordan by Tiglath-pileser III <sup>15</sup>. Below I follow Na’aman’s translation <sup>16</sup> for the stone fragment from Calah (Nimrud) (III R 10, 2, [a] below), and for the broken tablet unearthed at Calah (ND 4301+) and published by Wiseman <sup>17</sup>:

[a] [From] the town of Kashpuna which is on the shore of the Upper Sea [as far as the town of *mi<sup>2</sup>-in<sup>2</sup>*]-ni-te, the town of *ga-al-’a-lat-[di]* and the town of *a-bi-il-šit-ti* which is on the border of Bīt Ḥumri, the widespread [land of Bīt Hazai]li in its entirety, I restored to the territory of Assyria [...]

[b] The widespread [land of Bīt] Hazaili in its entirety, from the [town of Kashp]una as far as the town of Gilea[d and the town of Abel-šitti which is on the bor]der of Bīt-Ḥumri, I [restored] to the territory of Assyria [...]

This text seems to locate the southern border of Aram Damascus at the towns of [Min]nite (biblical Minnith), Gilead and Abel-šitti (biblical Abel-shittim). According to Eusebius, Minnith is located four miles from Heshbon on the way to Philadelphia (*On.* 132: 1). Alt <sup>18</sup> located it in the vicinity of Umm el-Ḥanafish (G.R. 232 137) <sup>19</sup>, but this identification is inconclusive <sup>20</sup>. Abel-shittim should be sought in the lower Jordan Valley (Num 33,49; Josh 2,1; Mic 6,5; see also Jos. *Ant.* 4, 5, 1; 5, 1, 1), opposite Jericho.

<sup>15</sup> N. NA’AMAN, “Rezin of Damascus and the Land of Gilead”, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 111 (1995) 105-117.

<sup>16</sup> NA’AMAN, “Rezin”, 105-117.

<sup>17</sup> D.J. WISEMAN, “A Fragmentary Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III from Nimrus”, *Iraq* 18 (1956) 125, Rev. lines 3-4, [b] below.

<sup>18</sup> A. ALT, “Das Institut im Jahre 1932”, *PJ* 29 (1933) 27-28.

<sup>19</sup> See also S. MITTMANN, “Aroer, Minnith und Abel Keramim (JDC 11, 33)”, *ZDPV* 85 (1969) 71-73.

<sup>20</sup> U. HÜBNER, *Die Ammoniter. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion eines transjordanischen Volkes im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 16; Wiesbaden 1992) 133-136, with further literature.

Aroer referred to here is the place mentioned in Josh 13,25 in proximity to Rabbah of the Ammonites (Josh 13,25). It should be sought on the western Ammonite border. In the Bible and contemporary sources Abel-keramim appears only in the Jephthah story. Eusebius says that “until today there is a vine-growing village of Abela six miles from Philadelphia” (*On.* 32: 14-16). This place is usually sought in the area of Na‘ur<sup>21</sup>, not far from Minnith<sup>22</sup>.

All in all, it is clear that the reality hidden behind 11,33a is that of the border of the Northern Kingdom with Ammon and Moab in the century between ca. 840-740, that is, in the actual days of the author of the Book of Saviors.

Judges 12,1-6 is a riddle. It seems to be a polemic against Ephraim by Israelites who lived in Transjordan. The Ephraimites are portrayed as whiners with no reason (they did not join Jephthah in the fight against the Ammonites) and as thugs (“We will burn your house over you with fire”); by gathering at Zaphon (v. 1; see n. 7 below), probably in the area of Succoth, they were well-positioned to threaten the town of Gilead (below). The fords of Ephraim on the Jordan are mentioned in two other stories in Judges (3,28; 12,5 — the origin is probably in the Ehud story). In the Gideon narrative the Ephraimites also appear as grumblers, but Gideon appeases them. Here the episode ends in a slaughter. Dating this part of the Jephthah narrative is difficult. On the one hand, it is not part of the original story; on the other, the author still seems to know that Gilead is a town rather than a region (on later confusions regarding Gilead see below). Assuming that “and the Lord gave them into my hand” in v. 3b is a Deuteronomistic or post-Deuteronomistic insertion, the original (vv. 1-6), with no divine intervention, may be pre-Deuteronomistic. If so, these verses are “trapped” between the writing of the North Israelite author of the early 8<sup>th</sup> century and the Deuteronomistic layer. Therefore, the origin of this story may be sought in a possible conflict between Israelite groups in the end-days of the Northern Kingdom<sup>23</sup>. In any event, the crucial word-

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<sup>21</sup> Summary in B. MAZAR, “Abel-keramim”, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 1 (1972) 37-38 (in Hebrew); this fits the description of a watered place with vineyards.

<sup>22</sup> For the possible identifications of the places mentioned in 11,33 see summaries in E. GASS, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbuchs in historischer und redaktioneller Perspektive* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 35; Wiesbaden 2005).

<sup>23</sup> GROSS (*Richter*, 624) sees these verses as memories portraying the process of separation of (the tribe) Gilead from Ephraim.

ing, “and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they said, ‘You are fugitives of Ephraim, you Gileadites, in the midst of Ephraim and Manasseh’” (12,4b), is difficult to understand.

The Deuteronomistic parts in the Jephthah narrative are relatively easy to identify:

- 10,6-16 is the typical frame of sin, punishment and cry to YHWH that serves the overall ideology of the Deuteronomist in Judges. Here it is mixed with later, post-Deuteronomistic additions (below). Unlike other cycles in Judges, the selection of a savior by YHWH is missing here<sup>24</sup>.
- Gilead as the father of Jephthah in 11,1-2. The author no longer understands that Gilead is the name of a town and connects Jephthah to the Manasseh genealogy. This can either be a Deuteronomistic, or post-Deuteronomistic redaction.
- The discussion between Jephthah and the elders of the town (below) of Gilead in 11,7-10 is not part of the old narrative. YHWH plays a major role here.
- 11,11b, “and Jephthah spoke all his words before the LORD at Mizpah”, also does not belong to the old tale. Interestingly, the author seems to know about a temple of YHWH at Mizpah (for the town see below) and does not reject it; similar to references to patriarchal altars in Genesis, countryside altars had been accepted “before” the rule of the Davidic Dynasty in Jerusalem. Or, the author no longer knew about Mizpah of the Gilead and confused it with Mizpah north of Jerusalem (see Judg 20,3).
- Intervention of the deity in 11,29a, 32b also belongs to this layer.
- The summary and reference to the death of Jephthah in 12,7 is typically Deuteronomistic. Note that the author no longer understands that Gilead is a town. The term *ערי גלעד* also appears in Josh 13,25.

The volume of post-Deuteronomistic materials in the Jephthah story is significant. They include<sup>25</sup>:

- Expansion of the Deuteronomistic opening in 10,1-16. I refer to

<sup>24</sup> SOGGIN, *Judges*, 205-206.

<sup>25</sup> Becker (*Richterzeit und Königtum*), identified four expansions of the old tradition: the dialogue between YHWH and Israel in 10,10b-16, the Bible-based arguments in 11,12-28, Jephthah’s vow in 11,30-31.34-40 and the fight with Ephraim in 12,1-6.

the mention of the Philistines in vv. 6-7; the land of the Amorites in v. 8; as well as the details in vv. 11b-12.

- Possibly the reference to Gilead as the father of Jephthah in 11,1-2, and 11,11b (for both see above).
- 11,12-28 aims at explaining how, when and where Israelites settled in Transjordan, in a period when this old reality was no longer apparent. This is secondary material<sup>26</sup>, citing older accounts, e.g., 11,25-26, which depends on the account in Numbers<sup>27</sup>.
- Jephthah's vow in 11,30-31.34-40 is post-Deuteronomistic, possibly as late as Hellenistic in date, influenced by the Iphigenia legend<sup>28</sup>. In other words, this may be the hand of a second — and latest — post-Deuteronomistic author.

## II. The Old Tale

What remains is the old North Israelite “secular<sup>29</sup>” Jephthah tale; or better, the reflection of the original old oral tale, which was put in writing by the North Israelite author in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, without the geographical expansion introduced by this author (above). Evidently, with centuries of redactions, additions and omissions, it is difficult and probably impossible to fully reconstruct the early tale. Still, in order to demonstrate my position, I would propose to read the old oral story approximately as follows (in brackets, bold italics additions that I entered in order to make the story coherent; more on this in the commentary below):

***[And the Ammonites pressed the inhabitants of Gilead...]*** Then the Ammonites were called to arms, and they encamped in Gilead; and the

<sup>26</sup> Soggin (*Judges*, 211) suggested that vv. 12 and 28 may belong to the old source. For a discussion of this account, see, for instance, M. WÜST, “Die Einschaltung in die Jiftachgeschichte. Ri 11,13-26”, *Bib* 56 (1975) 464-479.

<sup>27</sup> See table in SASSON, *Judges 1–12*, 427-428; I. FINKELSTEIN – T.C. RÖMER, “Early North Israelite ‘Memories’ on Moab”, *The Pentateuch within Biblical Literature: Formation and Interaction* (eds. K. SCHMID et al.) (in press); on this section as representing 7-6th century BCE and perhaps later concerns, see recently E. BLOCH-SMITH, “A Stratified Account of Jephthah’s Negotiations and Battle: Judges 11:12-33 from an Archaeological Perspective”, *JBL* 134 (2015) 291-311.

<sup>28</sup> T.C. RÖMER, “Why Would the Deuteronomists Tell about the Sacrifice of Jephthah’s Daughter?”, *JSOT* 77 (1998) 27-38; contra D. JANZEN, “Why the Deuteronomist Told about the Sacrifice of Jephthah’s Daughter”, *JSOT* 29 (2005) 339-357; GROSS, *Richter*, 616-617.

<sup>29</sup> GROSS, *Richter*, 616.



*[people of Gilead]* came together, and they encamped at Mizpah. And the leaders of Gilead, said one to another, “Who is the man that will begin to fight against the Ammonites? He shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead”. Now Jephthah the Gileadite was a mighty warrior, but he was the son of a harlot. And [...] was the father of Jephthah. And [...] wife also bore him sons; and when his wife’s sons grew up, they thrust Jephthah out, and said to him, “You shall not inherit in our father’s house; for you are the son of another woman”. Then Jephthah fled from his brothers, and dwelt in the land of Tob; and worthless fellows collected round Jephthah, and went raiding with him. The elders of Gilead went to bring Jephthah from the land of Tob. And they said to Jephthah, “Come and be our leader, that we may fight with the Ammonites”. So Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and leader over them; and *[Jephthah]* passed to Mizpah of Gilead, and from Mizpah of Gilead he passed on to the Ammonites to fight against them. And he smote them with a very great slaughter. So the Ammonites were subdued before *[the inhabitants of Gilead?]*.

Table 1: Suggested layers in the Jephthah narrative

	Reflection of the old oral tale	North Israelite author	Late North Israelite	Dtr	Post-Dtr	Late post-Dtr
Verses	10,17-18; 11,1-3 without Gilead as the father of Jephthah, 5b-6, 11a, 29b, single words in 32-33	11,4-5a.29a2.33	12,1-6 without 3b2	10,6-16 without the post-Dtr material; Gilead as the father of Jephthah in 11,1-2?; 11,7-10.11b?. 29a.32b; 12,7	Philistines in 10,6-7; Amorites in 10,8; 10,11b-12; Gilead as the father of Jephthah in 11,1-2?; 11,11b?.12-28	11,30-31. 34-40
Characteristic		Expansion of the old oral tale to a broader Israelite conflict	Ephraim polemic	The typical cycle of sin, cry, punishment and redemption in Judges; Divine intervention		
Geography	Conflict with the Ammonites; towns of Gilead and Mizpah	Aroer, Minnith and Abel-keramim				



### III. Commentary

#### 1. *General Observations*

Very little of the old tale has remained. Missing are:

- The beginning of the story, probably masked behind the Deuteronomistic and post-deuteronomistic material in 10,6-16. It is reconstructed here as “and the Ammonites pressed the inhabitants of Gilead”.
- The name/s of the leader/s of the Ammonites.
- The name of Jephthah’s father; a post-Deuteronomistic author, who no longer knew that Gilead was a town, “added” Jephthah to the sons of Gilead in the genealogy of Manasseh (for the latter, see, e.g., Num 26,30).
- The location of the confrontation with the Ammonites; the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE North Israelite author entered “from Aroer to the neighborhood of Minnith, twenty cities, and as far as Abel-keramim” (v. 33) — depicting the reality of his own days (above) — either because he did not know the place of confrontation, or in order to advance the territorial ideology of his time.

The ambiance of the story is typically that of an Apiru gang: A son of a harlot runs away from his half brothers to a remote town in the unruly steppe (below), where he gathers a band of “worthless fellows” that comes to the rescue of the town of Gilead. This is comparable to the story of David’s band at Keilah in 1 Samuel 23, and, in certain aspects, to that of Abimelech in Judges 9<sup>30</sup>.

The old tale includes three toponyms which are essential for understanding its geographical and historical background.

#### 2. *Gilead*

Gilead no doubt refers to a town — not to the geographical unit in Transjordan, north and south of the Jabbok River<sup>31</sup>. The existence of

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<sup>30</sup> N. NA’AMAN, “David’s Sojourn in Keilah in Light of the Amarna Letters”, *VT* 60 (2010) 87-97. ID., “A Hidden Anti-Samaritan Polemic in the Story of Abimelech and Shechem (Judges 9)”, *BZ* 55 (2011) 1-20.

<sup>31</sup> See a thorough discussion of both, with bibliography, in I. FINKELSTEIN – I. KOCH – O. LIPSCHITS, “The Biblical Gilead: Observations on Identifications, Geographic Divisions and Territorial History”, *UF* 43 (2012) 131-159.

a town named Gilead cannot be doubted. Hosea (6,8) says that “Gilead is a city of wicked men, tracked with blood” (see also Hos 12,12) <sup>32</sup>. In a clear reference to a town, Num 32,39 describes how “the sons of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead and took it (וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ), and dispossessed the Amorites who were in it <sup>33</sup>”. The existence of this town (“the town of ga-al-’a-lal-[di]”/Gilead) is also clear from the description of Tiglath-pileser III’s conquest of the Damascene territories in Transjordan cited above.

The town of Gilead was located in the “land of Gilead” (and hence the origin of the name of the latter), that is, in the lower plateau south of the Jabbok and north of es-Salt <sup>34</sup>. Indeed, in the center of this geographical unit one can find the village of Jal’ad, the site of Khirbet Jal’ad, and, according to de Vaux <sup>35</sup>, also Jebel Jal’ad, all of which seem to preserve the name of the biblical town.

Scholars identified the town of Gilead at the mainly Byzantine site of Khirbet Jal’ad <sup>36</sup>. Yet, this site, which (possibly) yielded only a small amount of Iron Age pottery <sup>37</sup>, is not prominently located. The village of Jal’ad — referred to by Glueck <sup>38</sup> as a ruin named Jelud — did not produce pre-Byzantine sherds either. It is therefore possible that the name Jal’ad originated from an older site somewhere near these places. Noth <sup>39</sup> suggested locating the town of Gilead in er-

<sup>32</sup> M. NOTH, “Gilead und Gad”, *ZDPV* 75 (1959) 35-36 and n. 48; H.W. WOLFF, *Hosea: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA 1974) 122.

<sup>33</sup> The Jephthah story ends by saying that he “was buried in his city in Gilead” (Judg 12,7 following the LXX; the Hebrew says וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ בְעָרֵי גִלְעָד) theoretically either referring to עִירוֹ גִלְעָד (his city Gilead) or to the cities of Gilead mentioned in Josh 13,25; the former is preferable. The Lucianic text and Josephus (*Ant.* 5, 270) read “in his city Ζεφε”, possibly referring to Zaphon (NELSON, “Ideology”, 359-360), because of the influence of Judg 12,1.

<sup>34</sup> Details in FINKELSTEIN – KOCH – LIPSCHITS, “The Biblical Gilead”.

<sup>35</sup> R. DE VAUX, “Notes d’histoire et de topographie transjordanienues”, *RB* 50 (1941) 16-47, here 28.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., R. DE VAUX, “Explorations de la région de Salt”, *RB* 47 (1938) 398-425, here 416-417; ID., “Notes d’histoire”, 28; N. GLUECK, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, Band 3 (The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 18/19; New Haven, CT 1939) 231-232; NOTH, “Gilead und Gad”, 36-38; GASS, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbachs*, 480.

<sup>37</sup> GLUECK, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, 231-232; DE VAUX, “Explorations de la Région de Salt”, 416-417.

<sup>38</sup> GLUECK, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, 232.

<sup>39</sup> M. NOTH, *Könige*. Band 1 (BK 9; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968) 237; see also J.J. SIMONS, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament*. A

Reshuni, two km northwest of Kh. Jal'ad, described by de Vaux <sup>40</sup> as "l'un des sites anciens les plus importants de toute la région". This area has not been systematically surveyed and hence it is possible that a large Iron Age site is still to be discovered in it. Another solution is to place the town of Gilead in Tell Hajjaj — the most conspicuous mound in this part of Jordan. The site is located on the western edge of the lower plateau south of the Jabbok referred to above (G.R. 214 173). It is a prominent mound, which — including the terraced slopes — covers an area of *ca.* four hectares. As far as I know, this site has never been systematically surveyed. Noth <sup>41</sup> mentions Iron I to Hellenistic pottery and de Vaux <sup>42</sup> refers to Iron Age pottery at the site. A short visit to this place in January 2011 by the author with colleagues and students revealed the existence of Iron Age sherds on its northern slopes. Still, this may be a less likely solution for Gilead because of the distance from Kh. Jal'ad.

### 3. Mizpah/Mizpah of Gilead

This place was probably located in the northern Gilead, as hinted by its name, Mizpah of Gilead, similar to Jabesh-gilead, Ramoth-gilead, Tishbe of Gilead — all situated north of the Jabbok. The addition of the component "Gilead" seems to indicate a need to explain that this region indeed belonged to the Gilead, probably hinting that originally the term Gilead was restricted to the area south of the Jabbok and that it was called after the town Gilead located therein <sup>43</sup>. The Jephthah story puts it not far from the territory of Ammon. The name discloses that it was located on a high spot overlooking its surroundings. This Mizpah should be associated with the Mizpah of the Jacob cycle: "And the Mizpah; for he said, the LORD watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another" (Gen 31,49), mentioned in relation to the heap of stones that "was named Gal'ed" (v. 48) built by Jacob. This story reflects the Iron Age reality of the border between Israelite and Aramean populations that lived in proximity in northern Transjordan <sup>44</sup>.

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Concise Commentary in 32 Chapters (Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata 1; Leiden 1959) 229-230.

<sup>40</sup> DE VAUX, "Explorations de la Région de Salt", 415.

<sup>41</sup> M. NOTH, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ostjordanlandes", *PJB* 37 (1941) 50-101, here 86.

<sup>42</sup> DE VAUX, "Explorations de la Région de Salt", 405; ID., "Notes d'Histoire", 31.

<sup>43</sup> See DE VAUX, "Notes d'histoire"; NOTH, "Beiträge zur Geschichte", 70; ID., "Gilead und Gad", 14.

<sup>44</sup> I. FINKELSTEIN – T.C. RÖMER, "Comments on the Historical Background of

Mizpah of Gilead was sought by some scholars at the village of Sūf (G.R. 229 191)<sup>45</sup> seven km to the northwest of Jaresh and by others at Tell el-Maṣṣā, *ca.* two km to the north of this village (G.R. 227 193)<sup>46</sup>. This small site, which may preserve the ancient name, is located on a high hill near the northwestern sector of the territory of Ammon. It is one of the highest mounds in the Levant (*ca.* 1100 m above sea level). Dieter Vieweger visited the site in 2011 and observed Bronze and Iron Age sherds (personal communication). Though the site is small, it seems appropriate for the location of Mizpah. The setting on a high, dominating mountain fits the name; a high mountain seen from afar is a proper location for a story about a cairn that marks the boundary between Israelite and Aramean populations in northern Transjordan; it is situated not a great distance from the northwestern border of the kingdom of Ammon and hence suits the logic of the Jephthah story.

#### 4. *Land of Tob*

Except for the references in the Jephthah narrative, the land of Tob appears only once in the Bible and contemporary sources:

When the Ammonites saw that they had become odious to David, the Ammonites sent and hired the Syrians [Aram] of Beth-rehob, and the Syrians [Aram] of Zobah, twenty thousand foot soldiers, and the king of Ma‘acah with a thousand men, and the men of Tob, twelve thousand men [...]. And the Ammonites came out and drew up in battle array at the entrance of the gate; and the Syrians [Aram] of Zobah and of Rehob, and the men of Tob and Ma‘acah, were by themselves in the open country (2 Sam 10,6.8).

These verses describe the allies of Ammon against David — all located to the north of Ammon<sup>47</sup>. A place named *t-b-y* is referred to in

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the Jacob Narrative”, *ZAW* 126 (2014) 317-338. Note the distinction between Mizpah of Gilead and a place in the Gilead named Ramath-mizpeh (Josh 13,26). Without the second component the former should be referred to as Mizpah, while the latter was probably referred to as Ramah/Ramoth (FINKELSTEIN – KOCH – LIPSCHITS, “The Biblical Gilead”).

<sup>45</sup> P.M. ARNOLD, “Mizpah (Place)”, *ABD* 4 (1992) 879-881, here 881; S. MITTMANN, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 2; Wiesbaden 1970) 95, reports Iron I pottery there.

<sup>46</sup> C. STEUERNAGEL, “Der ‘Adschlün nach den Aufzeichnungen von Dr. G. Schumacher”, *ZDPV* 48 (1925) 201-392; A. LEMAIRE, “Galaad et Makîr: Remarques sur la Tribu de Manassé à l’est du Jourdain”, *VT* 31 (1981) 39-61, here 44.

<sup>47</sup> For the possibility that the original source/memory referred to Rehob in the

the Thutmose III list, seemingly together with towns in the Bashan, including Ashtaroth<sup>48</sup>. A city-state named Tubu is mentioned in the Amarna tablets; EA 205, sent by the ruler of this place, belongs to the Bashan correspondence<sup>49</sup>.

It is not clear whether Toubion of 1 Macc 5,13 refers to a town or a group (the Tobiads; see also 2 Macc 12,17). The context of the story — a march of three days in the desert and the mention of Bozrah and Qarnaim (1 Macc 5,24-26) — seems to point to the steppe area east of the Sea of Galilee.

Combining these references, the land of Tob should be sought in Transjordan to the north of Ammon. The usage of “land”, typical of Transjordan in the Bible, in the Mesha Inscription and in the 1 Maccabees story, probably indicates that Tob was a town on the desert fringe, which fits the ambiance in Judges 11 — Jephthah is a fugitive, active with a gang of “worthless” men in an unruly area. The broadly accepted identification is with the village of et-Taiyibeh in the area of the upper Yarmuk River (G.R. 266 218), between Der’a and Busra esh-Sham (Bozrah)<sup>50</sup>.

#### IV. The Geographical and Historical Setting

Though the old Jephthah tale is short and possibly fragmentary, the logic of its geographical setting is relatively easy to decipher. The drama takes place between the town of Gilead, located south of the Jabbok River and the town of Mizpah, situated 20 km to the northeast, on the other side of the Jabbok Valley. Both are considered Israelite

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Beth-shean Valley and that a later redactor confused the original meaning according to the reality of his time, see I. FINKELSTEIN, “Does Rehob of the Beth-shean Valley Appear in the Bible?”, *BN* (in press).

<sup>48</sup> E.g., Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography* (Philadelphia, PA 1979) 159-160; S. AHITUV, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem 1984) 190-191.

<sup>49</sup> Y. GOREN – I. FINKELSTEIN – N. NA’AMAN, *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna Letters and other Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 23; Tel Aviv 2004) 223-225; see W. MORAN, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, MD 1992) 273, n. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Summary in Z. KALLAI, “Tob, Land of Tob”, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 3 (1965) 366-367 (in Hebrew); P.L. REDDITT, “Tob”, *ABD* 6 (1992) 583; for a Middle Bronze tomb there, see A. ABU ASSAF, “Ein mittelbronzezeitliches Grab in at-Taiyibih und die Gleichsetzung von at-Taiyibih mit Tu-b-ja”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 7 (1974) 13-19; for Iron Age pottery at the site see F. BRAEMER, “Prospections archéologiques dans le Hawrān (Syrie)”, *Syria* 61 (1984) 219-250.

towns, but during the events described the Ammonites have taken control of Gilead. The elders of Gilead convene at Mizpah — probably the location of a regional shrine. Jephthah, who was born in the town of Gilead, is a leader of an Apiru gang; he lives in the (Aramean?) town of Tob in the steppe, 65 km northeast of Gilead (this is the general location of the “land of Kedem” of the Jacob story — Gen 29,1). The elders of Gilead bring Jephthah back from Tob to lead them against the Ammonites. This means that the tale deals with a conflict between Israelites and Ammonites along the western Ammonite border.

The background is somewhat similar to the story of the conclusion of the treaty between Jacob and Laban — also related to Mizpah — which puts the border between them in the pasture areas in the north-eastern sector of the Israelite Gilead (Gen 31,45-54). The account of the heap of stones (galed = cairn) built by Jacob is probably etiological, intended to explain a geographical feature in the Gilead, which was in one way or the other connected to the reality of the border between the Israelite and Aramean populations that lived in proximity in northern Transjordan, slightly to the north of the area dealt with in the Jephthah story<sup>51</sup>. This story belongs to the early layer in the Jacob cycle, which was probably put in writing in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, but which depicts earlier realities, when the settlement boundaries between Israelites and Arameans in this region were formed. This seems to best fit the late Iron I or early Iron IIA, that is, the late 11<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE — just before or in the early days of the Northern Kingdom. Note the clash over Ramoth-gilead in the end-days of the Omrides (1 Kings 22; 2 Kgs 8,28-29) and that in the time of Jeroboam II Lidbir, located slightly north of Mizpah<sup>52</sup>, was considered a well-established Aramean city (Amos 6,11-14); these clues indeed seem to show that the ethnic border in the Gilead had been stabilized before the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>53</sup>.

The original Jephthah story appears to portray a similar reality. The Apiru characteristics point to a time before the consolidation of the territorial kingdoms of Israel and Ammon, or in their very early days, that is, no later than the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE. And similar to the

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<sup>51</sup> In fact, Mizpah was the closest town to the area where Israelite, Aramean and Ammonite populations met.

<sup>52</sup> FINKELSTEIN – KOCH – LIPSCHITS, “The Biblical Gilead”.

<sup>53</sup> On all this see I. FINKELSTEIN, *The Forgotten Kingdom*. The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel (Atlanta, GA 2013); FINKELSTEIN – RÖMER, “Comments on the Historical Background”.

early Jacob story, the Jephthah tale, too, was committed to writing in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when the Northern Kingdom collected its foundation myths, early royal traditions, and heroic tales.

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#### SUMMARY

In this article I intend to reveal the old, orally-transmitted heroic tale that lies behind the Jephthah story in the Book of Judges, which is obscured by massive Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic additions and redactions. The old story deals with a conflict on the settlement boundary between Israelites and Ammonites in Transjordan, around the towns of Gilead and Mizpah. It probably reflects realities before, or in the early days of the Northern Kingdom.



## Psalm 73 as Ring Composition

The structure of Psalm 73 is nothing if not hard to pin down. In his 1982 article, Allen cites no fewer than fifteen structural analyses <sup>1</sup>. In the thirty-some years since, there have been at least a further dozen new proposals <sup>2</sup>. Given this seemingly endless multiplication of analyses without there being any consensus, the addition of yet another proposal may seem pointless. Yet it is precisely because so many have already devoted so much effort that one must continue pushing forward, for as insight increases so does the possibility of a breakthrough.

At the outset, I must express my indebtedness to those whose efforts have preceded mine, for as will become apparent, their insights have helped clarify my own. Yet in the following analysis, I wish to distinguish my approach from theirs in four ways.

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<sup>1</sup> L.C. ALLEN, "Psalm 73: An Analysis", *TB* 33 (1982) 93-107.

<sup>2</sup> These include: E.A. MARTENS, "Psalm 73: A Corrective to a Modern Misunderstanding", *Direction* 12 (1983) 18-19; C. STUHLMUELLER, *Psalms 73-150* (OTM 22; Wilmington, DE 1983) 11-13; W. BRUEGGEMANN, *The Message of the Psalms. A Theological Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN 1984) 115-121; J.L. CRENSHAW, "Standing near the Flame: Psalm 73", *A Whirlpool of Torment. Israelite Traditions of God as an Oppressive Presence* (OBT 12; Philadelphia, PA 1984) 93-109; J. KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (VTS 35; Leiden 1984) 38-59; J.C. MCCANN JR., "Psalm 73: A Microcosm of Old Testament Theology", *The Listening Heart. Essays in Wisdom and the Psalms in Honor of Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm.* (eds. K.G. HOGLUND et al.) (JSOTSS 58; Sheffield 1985) 249-251; R.J. CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73-150* (Collegeville, MN 1986) 16-17; M.E. TATE, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC; Dallas, TX 1990) 232-234; M. GIRARD, *Les Psaumes redécouverts. De la structure au sens* (Saint-Laurent 1994) 282-294; P. AUFFRET, "Et moi sans cesse avec toi: Étude structurelle du Psaume 73", *SJOT* 9 (1995) 241-276; M.D. GOULDER, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch. Studies in the Psalter, III* (JSOTSS 233; Sheffield 1996) 52-61; R.L. COLE, *The Shape and Message of Book III (Psalms 73-89)* (JSOTSS 307; Sheffield 2000) 15-25; M. WITTE, "Auf dem Weg ein Leben nach dem Tod", *TZ* 58 (2002) 19-20; S. TERRIEN, *The Psalms. Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary. Vol. 2: Psalms 73-150* (Grand Rapids, MI 2003) 523-532; L. BOADT, "The Use of 'Panels' in the Structure of Psalms 73-78", *CBQ* 66 (2004) 538-540; F.-L. HOSSFELD – E. ZENGER, *Psalms 2. A Commentary on Psalms 51-100* (trans. L.M. MALONEY) (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2005) 226; J. KARTJE, *Wisdom Epistemology in the Psalter. A Study of Psalms 1, 73, 90, and 107* (BZAW 472; Berlin 2014) 99-100.

First, as analyses multiply, there is sometimes a tendency to over-complicate. For example, while I find Auffret's multiple layers of chiasmic arrangements ingenious in many ways, it strikes me as perhaps too complex to be readily grasped by the originally intended audience<sup>3</sup>. After all, if literary structure functions primarily to provide clues that facilitate comprehension of meaning, then the simpler the structure, the more effective it will be. For this reason, what I aim to propose is a simple and elegant structure that does not require complicated manoeuvres for understanding the relationships between subsections.

Second, while recent analyses have rightly paid greater attention to the use of repetitions and structural markers to guide the division of the psalm into subsections, at times such considerations seem to have come at the expense of the logical flow of thought. As a result, a section division is sometimes introduced where logic would not have naturally called for one. Allen's placement of a section division at v. 5 to fit his perceived pattern of repetition is an obvious example<sup>4</sup>. In the following analysis, I aim to give equal regard to form and content, so that any structural division proposed will simultaneously make sense from either perspective.

Third, in identifying structural markers, very often the mere repetition of specific words at strategic locations is deemed sufficient for them to be designated structural markers. If a word so designated happens to be rare or highly marked, then obviously nothing more is required. But if the designated marker happens to be a commonly occurring particle, pronoun, or pronominal suffix, then one should be prepared either to show how every single occurrence is structurally significant, or to explain clearly why only certain occurrences matter and others do not. Unfortunately, in many of the existing analyses, not every single occurrence of a designated structural marker is accounted for, so that, as a result, the inconsistency weakens the analysis. In the following analysis, I aim to provide comprehensive discussions of all structural markers identified, so that it will become clear why a commonly occurring word is considered structurally significant only in some instances but not in others.

Finally and perhaps most significantly, while the majority of existing analyses seek to understand the structure of the psalm in terms of panels arranged in a linear fashion, I will attempt to make a case

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<sup>3</sup> For his extremely complicated structural diagrams, see AUFFRET, "Étude structurelle", 255, 261, 266, 269, 272.

<sup>4</sup> ALLEN, "Psalm 73", 100-102.

for reading the psalm as an essentially chiastic ring composition<sup>5</sup>. In this, I am indebted to Mary Douglas' work on ring composition, and I will base much of my discussion on characteristics identified by her<sup>6</sup>.

### I. Characteristics of Ring Composition

To be sure, Douglas is not the first to speak of ring compositions. Outside the field of biblical studies, scholars have long identified ring compositions in such diverse works as the Homeric epics, the Hippocratic corpus, and the Old English epic poem *Beowulf*, among others<sup>7</sup>. In fact, in her book, Douglas, whose training is in anthropology rather than biblical studies, also devotes two chapters to an analysis of ring compositions in *The Iliad*, citing Homeric scholars who have preceded her in making similar observations. In the field of biblical studies, scholars before Douglas have also spoken of ring compositions, most notably Muilenburg, whose 1968 SBL Presidential Address is widely considered to be the clarion call that marked the beginning of rhetorical criticism in biblical studies<sup>8</sup>.

Nevertheless, a consensus in favor of a precise definition for "ring composition" has proven to be elusive. As a result, the term is used by different scholars to mean slightly different things. Thus, Muilenburg and some biblical rhetorical critics after him have used the term as a synonym for *inclusio*, thus putting the focus only on the coordination between the beginning and end of a pericope, without saying anything further about additional features that concern a ring's internal structure; outside of biblical studies, on the other hand, ring composition is

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<sup>5</sup> Although several analyses yield results that appear chiastic, their approach is essentially linear. These include A. WEISER, *The Psalms. A Commentary* (OTL; London 1962) 508; WITTE, "Auf dem Weg", 19-20; BOADT, "Panels", 539-540. As far as I know, the only conscious attempts at a chiastic analysis are by AUFFRET, "Étude structurelle", 241-276, and KARTJE, *Wisdom*, 100. In addition, although TATE, *Psalms 51-100*, 234, provides a structural diagram of the psalm that is laid out as a ring, his three-line explanation of the diagram on the preceding page is so confusing and full of typographical errors as to render it incomprehensible.

<sup>6</sup> M. DOUGLAS, *Thinking in Circles. An Essay on Ring Composition* (New Haven, CT 2007).

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, C. WHITMAN, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, MA 1958); O. WENSKUS, *Ringkomposition, anaphorisch-rekapitulierende Verbindung und anknüpfende Wiederholung im hippokratischen Corpus* (Frankfurt 1982); H.W. TONSFELDT, "Ring Composition in Beowulf", *Neophilologus* 61 (1977) 443-452.

<sup>8</sup> J. MUILENBURG, "Form Criticism and Beyond", *JBL* 88 (1969) 1-18, here 8-9.

often described in terms similar to those for standard chiasm<sup>9</sup>. This explains why, when general literary scholars discuss ring compositions, the examples cited are often simply standard chiasmic structures<sup>10</sup>. Perhaps this explains the curious fact that, while biblical scholars have been showcasing chiasm in biblical texts for over three decades, the term “ring composition” rarely appears<sup>11</sup>. This may well be rooted in the desire of many biblical scholars to clearly differentiate between an *inclusio* and a standard chiasm, thus avoiding the ambiguity that accompanies the term “ring composition”.

Still, is a ring composition essentially identical to standard chiasm? On this issue, Douglas seems to have provided some valuable insight. For although she never explicitly sets out to distinguish between standard chiasm and ring composition, in her discussion she seems to imply that a ring composition is not simply a standard chiasm but rather a special form of chiasm with its own unique features.

First, while standard chiasm, like an *inclusio*, requires formal links that connect the beginning and end of a pericope, a ring composition, according to Douglas, must fulfil an additional requirement: that such connections show a circularity that firmly ties the beginning to the end and vice versa<sup>12</sup>. Thus, speaking of the end of a ring, she writes that just arriving back at the beginning by the process of inverted ordering is not enough to produce a firm closure. Other than verbal repetitions, there must also be thematic correspondence between the beginning and the end, so that the beginning is specifically designed to correspond to the end, and the end is clearly recognised as

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<sup>9</sup> See MUILENBURG, “Form Criticism”, 9; J.R. LUNDBOM, *Biblical Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism* (HBM 45; Sheffield 2013) 6. But to Homeric scholar, S. SCHEIN, “The Iliad: Structure and Interpretation”, *A New Companion to Homer* (eds. I. MORRIS – B. POWELL) (Leiden 1997) 345-359, here 347, ring composition is basically an *inclusio* but with the possibility of expansion into a standard chiasmic structure.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, J.D. NILES, “Ring Composition and the Structure of Beowulf”, *PMLA* 94 (1979) 924-935, and S.V. TRACY, “The Structures of the Odyssey”, *A New Companion to Homer* (eds. I. MORRIS – B. POWELL) (Leiden 1997) 360-379, here 363-364.

<sup>11</sup> Some of the works showcasing chiasm include: J.W. WELCH (ed.), *Chiasmus in Antiquity*. Structures, Analyses, Exegesis (Provo, UT 1981), and R. MEYNET, *Rhetorical Analysis*. An Introduction to Biblical Rhetoric (JSOTSS 256; Sheffield 1998).

<sup>12</sup> Although Douglas has not verbally highlighted this circularity, the way she diagrams many of the rings she identifies makes this point obvious. See, for example, DOUGLAS, *Thinking in Circles*, 20, 39, 48, 87, 110.

having been anticipated from the beginning to create a double literary closure<sup>13</sup>.

Second, in standard chiasm the turning point is significant mainly as an indicator of climax, after which the *dénouement* takes place. For a ring, however, Douglas lays out the additional requirement that the middle turning point also show verbal and thematic connections with the beginning and end. In this way, not only is the precise point of inflection well-marked, but the coordination of the middle with the beginning and end also results in a well-integrated composition that demonstrates overall thematic interconnections<sup>14</sup>.

From these two features, one can argue that a ring is a special form of chiasm distinct from an *inclusio* or a standard chiasmic structure. In the following discussion, therefore, as I try to show that Psalm 73 indeed constitutes a ring, I will do so on the basis of Douglas' characterisations, so that the structure of Psalm 73 will be shown to be more than just chiasmic, but an almost perfectly circular ring through intricate connections of its beginning, middle, and end.

## II. Psalm 73 as a Ring

To show that Psalm 73 indeed constitutes a ring, I will start by examining how the beginning and the end of the psalm are joined together. I will then focus on the connections between the middle turning point and the beginning and end, and on the coordination of parallel panels on either side of the turning point. I will conclude by examining additional features unique to Psalm 73 that further enhance its circularity to create an almost perfect ring.

### 1. *Beginning and End*

That the beginning and the end of Psalm 73 are closely linked has long been noted. Because the psalm begins with a proclamation of God's goodness that seems to represent its central message, many have regarded v. 1 as a conclusion previewed in advance<sup>15</sup>. In fact,

<sup>13</sup> DOUGLAS, *Thinking in Circles*, 37-38.

<sup>14</sup> DOUGLAS, *Thinking in Circles*, 34, 37.

<sup>15</sup> A.B. RHODES, *Psalms* (LBC; London 1961) 108; J.W. ROGERSON – J.W. MCKAY, *Psalms 51–100* (CBC; Cambridge 1977) 120; S.H. BLANK, "The Nearness of God in Psalm Seventy-Three", *Prophetic Thoughts. Essays and Addresses* (Cincinnati, OH 1977) 70; J.F. ROSS "Psalm 73", *Israelite Wisdom. Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (eds. J.G. GAMMIE et al.) (Missoula, MT 1978) 161-175, here 164; J. GOLDINGAY, *Psalms*. Vol. 2. Psalms 42–89

Brueggemann notes that because v. 1 is the premise that arises from the psalm's conclusion, it is able to shed any naïveté that would have characterised the statement had it not arisen from that conclusion <sup>16</sup>.

Aside from the fact that, as an anticipated conclusion, v. 1 seems to show a formal and logical connection with the psalm's end, many have also noted the presence of an *inclusio* involving טוב ("good") in v. 1 and v. 28 <sup>17</sup>. In light of the fact that in v. 1 the psalmist merely proclaims God's goodness to the pure in heart without further specifying the nature or substance of that goodness, a case can be made that the repetition of טוב in v. 28a actually functions as a clarification of that initial proclamation, so that the goodness spoken of in v. 1 is finally revealed to be nothing other than the nearness of God <sup>18</sup>. This is especially so if the oft-mentioned textual emendation in v. 1 is adopted to read אֵל טוֹב לְיֹשֶׁר אֵל ("Surely God is good to the upright") <sup>19</sup>. For if the psalmist, by his subsequent disclosure that he had purified his heart and washed his hands in innocence (v. 13), has proven himself worthy to be among "the upright", then God's nearness, which is good for him (v. 28a), may be precisely how God shows himself good to the upright.

But if God's goodness proclaimed at the psalm's beginning awaits clarification at the psalm's end, then the psalm's final declaration may also have found a certain fulfilment at the psalm's beginning. For although in v. 28b the psalm ends with a vow to recount "all your

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(Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms; Grand Rapids, MI 2007) 400.

<sup>16</sup> BRUEGGEMANN, *Message of the Psalms*, 116.

<sup>17</sup> See KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 43; MCCANN, "Psalm 73", 250; J.L. MAYS, *Psalms* (Interpretation; Louisville, KY 1994) 241; K. SCHAEFER, *Psalms* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN 2001) 177; BOADT, "Panels", 539, among others.

<sup>18</sup> See also KARTJE, *Wisdom*, 105.

<sup>19</sup> This emendation was first proposed by H. GRAETZ, *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung* (Breslau 1883) 437, on the basis of better parallelism with the second half of v. 1. It has since been adopted by B. DUHM, *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig 1899) 189; J. KRAUS, *Psalms 60–150* (Continental Commentary; Minneapolis, MN 1989) 83; L. ALONSO SCHÖKEL – C. CARNITI (eds.), *Salmos II* (Salmos 73–150). Traducción, introducciones y comentario (Estella 1993) 966; RSV, among others. It should be noted that although support from manuscripts and versions for this reading is non-existent, the absence of spacing between words and the lack of differentiation between ט and ש in the earliest stages of textual transmission may easily have caused the string יִשְׂרָאֵל to be erroneously understood as the name of the Jewish nation, as that name appears almost 2500 times within the Old Testament.

works”, the precise content of that work remains unspecified. Rather than having God’s general intervention in the world in mind, perhaps the psalmist was thinking more narrowly about the insight he has just gained from his recent experience. After all, twice within the psalm he has spoken of a desire to “recount” (ספר). Apart from v. 28b, the other instance is in v. 15, where what he wanted to recount is also only vaguely stated as “thus” (כמו)<sup>20</sup>. But in context, כמו likely refers to the psalmist’s complaints in vv. 13-14 and may even include his observations about the apparent prosperity of the wicked in vv. 4-12. If so, what the psalmist considered recounting midway through the psalm would be his observations and experiences up to that point, even though he ultimately refrained from doing so out of a reluctance to cause God’s people to stumble.

Now at the end of the psalm, the psalmist again speaks of recounting, only this time without any reservations on account of new insights gained. If the contrast between the two uses of ספר is deliberate, then to the extent that the first ספר concerns observations and experiences expressed in the first half of the psalm, the second most likely concerns corresponding insights and perspectives gained in the second half. If so, then the very composition of this psalm, and in particular the proclamation of God’s goodness in v. 1 that encapsulates the psalm’s primary testimony, would in a very real sense constitute a concrete fulfilment of the vow made in v. 28b.

Still, when Douglas speaks of the joining of the beginning and the end in a ring, she is referring not simply to connections between the first and last clauses, but to connections between entire rhetorical units which she calls “sections”<sup>21</sup>. Therefore to make a convincing case that the beginning and end of Psalm 73 are indeed connected to form a ring, one must broadly consider the introductory and concluding sections in their entirety. However, to do so, one must first determine the boundaries of these sections.

Determining the boundaries of the concluding section is perhaps the easier task, as there seems to be general consensus that vv. 27-28 serve as the conclusion of the entire psalm<sup>22</sup>. It is generally observed

<sup>20</sup> For כמו, WEISER, *Psalms*, 505-506; KRAUS, *Psalms 60–150*, 83-84, 87; AUFFRET, “Étude structurelle”, 245; NJB, among others, have chosen to emend the text to read כהם “like them”. But evidence in support of the emendation is weak, and the MT makes good sense.

<sup>21</sup> DOUGLAS, *Thinking in Circles*, 36-38.

<sup>22</sup> To be sure, CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73–150*, 16-17; TATE, *Psalms 51–100*, 232;



that in vv. 27-28a insights gained in the second half of the psalm, which brought an end to the psalmist's struggles in the first half, are succinctly summarised. Thus, while the psalmist's realization about the precarious situation of the wicked in vv. 18-20 is summarised in v. 27 through a prediction about their ultimate destruction, his renewed appreciation of an intimate relationship with God in vv. 21-26 is encapsulated in his declaration in v. 28a of how good it is to be near to him. Here, the use of the semantically contrastive root-pair, רחק ("far") in v. 27 and קרב ("near") in v. 28a, ties the two statements together into a close relationship<sup>23</sup>. As for v. 28b, a declaration of trust and a vow to recount God's works probably represent the psalmist's personal response to his new insight.

Rhetorically, the demarcation of the concluding section at the beginning of v. 27 is also supported by the structural markers בִּיהִנֵּה. In this regard, more will be said about the psalmist's use of the particles אֵךְ, כִּי, and הִנֵּה as structural markers. For now, it will suffice to point out that אֵךְ and כִּי appear to be used as a complementary pair to mark section beginnings, while הִנֵּה appears to be an occasional marker to signal conclusions<sup>24</sup>. The combination of בִּיהִנֵּה at the beginning of v. 27 thus seems to simultaneously mark v. 27 both as the beginning of a new rhetorical unit (through כִּי) and as the concluding section for the entire psalm (through הִנֵּה).

Determining the boundaries of the introductory section is somewhat more complicated. While the section obviously begins at v. 1, it is less clear where it ends. In this regard, almost half of those surveyed favour taking v. 1 as a stand-alone introduction to the psalm. These justify their decision by noting a break in sense between v. 1 and v. 2, with v. 1 stating the overall theme for the whole psalm, and v. 2 introducing the psalmist's plight<sup>25</sup>. That v. 2 begins with a

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WITTE, "Auf dem Weg", 18-20; BOADT, "Panels", 538-539 all see a break between v. 27 and v. 28. While Witte's decision is based primarily on redactional considerations, none of the others have provided strong justification for their positions.

<sup>23</sup> For use of this pair of words in other closely contrastive contexts, see Pss 22,12; 119,150; Prov 5,8; Isa 46,13; 54,14.

<sup>24</sup> By "occasional", I am referring to the fact that הִנֵּה does not occur at the conclusion of every major rhetorical unit within the psalm, but appears only at v. 12 for vv. 4-12, v. 15 for vv. 13-15, and v. 27 for the conclusion of the entire psalm.

<sup>25</sup> M. BUBER, *Right and Wrong. An Interpretation of Some Psalms* (London 1952) 37-38; L.G. PERDUE, *Wisdom and Cult. A Critical Analysis of the View of Cult in Wisdom Literature of Israel and the Ancient Near East* (SBLDS 30; Mis-

disjunctive **וְאִנִּי** is sometimes also cited as signalling a rhetorical break <sup>26</sup>.

On the other hand, those who favour taking v. 2 together with v. 1 point out that, since the psalm primarily revolves around a dilemma about theodicy, the contrast between God's goodness in v. 1 and the psalmist's doubt expressed in v. 2 is precisely what brings out the dilemma. The two verses should therefore be read together rather than separately <sup>27</sup>.

Here, the issue is not so much whether a contrast exists between v. 1 and v. 2 — everyone agrees it does — but whether the contrast introduced by the disjunctive **וְאִנִּי** at the beginning of v. 2 necessarily signals a rhetorical break. Concerning this, the identification of a complex sequence of structural markers by Illman and Baumann, involving **אֶךְ** or **כִּי** followed by one or two occurrences of **וְאִנִּי** (v. 2, vv. 22-23, and v. 28) or **וְאֵהִי** (v. 14), already implies that the occurrence of **וְאִנִּי** alone does not in itself necessarily signal a rhetorical break <sup>28</sup>. But an even stronger case can be made if, instead of giving all four occurrences of **וְאִנִּי** within the psalm equal weight, one differentiates between them and focuses only on the two occurring in v. 2 and v. 28 <sup>29</sup>. While it is true that all four instances of **וְאִנִּי** occur at verse-initial positions, an important distinction must be made: the two occurrences in vv. 22-23 are grammatically obligatory, whereas those in v. 2 and v. 28 are not. Verse 22 begins with **וְאִנִּי-כַעֲר** ("and I [was] brutish"), a verbless clause involving a predicate adjective. In this kind of construction, the subject ("I") must be overtly stated <sup>30</sup>. Likewise in v. 23, **וְאִנִּי תַמִּיד עִמָּךְ** ("but I [am] con-

soula, MT 1977) 288-289; ROSS, "Psalm 73", 164; B. RENAUD, "Le Psaume 73. Méditation individuelle ou prière collective?" *RHPR* 59 (1979) 541-550, here 543; TATE, *Psalms 51-100*, 232; W. BRUEGGEMANN – P.D. MILLER, "Psalm 73 as a Canonical Marker", *JSOT* 72 (1996) 45-56, here 46; GOLDINGAY, *Psalms*, 402.

<sup>26</sup> BRUEGGEMANN, *Message of the Psalms*, 117; KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 42.

<sup>27</sup> AUFFRET, "Étude structurelle", 246; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 17-18; BOADT, "Panels", 539.

<sup>28</sup> E. BAUMANN, "Struktur-Untersuchungen im Psalter II", *ZAW* 62 (1950) 115-152, here 126-127; K.J. ILLMAN, "Til tolkning av Psalm 73", *SEA* 41-42 (1976-77) 120-129, here 123-124.

<sup>29</sup> While KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 42, and CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73-150*, 16-17, both take **וְאִנִּי** as a significant structural marker, they do not further differentiate between occurrences within the psalm. In this, although Clifford sees **וְאִנִּי** as indicative of subsection division, he never explains why the two **וְאִנִּי** in v. 23 and v. 28 are placed at the beginning of a new subsection, while the two occurrences of **וְאִנִּי** in v. 2 and v. 22 are placed at the end.

<sup>30</sup> In fact, in contrast to the other occurrences of **וְאִנִּי**, the **ו** that precedes the

tinually with you”) that begins the verse is also a verbless clause, here involving an adverb plus a suffixed preposition. Again, in the absence of a finite verb, the subject must be overtly stated. Given the fact that linguistic features that reflect a free choice out of numerous options provide a far more reliable indication of conscious design than constructions that are rule-bound, the obligatory nature of the latter therefore renders their rhetorical significance somewhat uncertain <sup>31</sup>.

In contrast, the two **וְאֲנִי** in v. 2 and v. 28 are both grammatically redundant nominative absolutes, the function of which seems to be primarily emphatic as they draw attention to the contrast with the immediately preceding clause. In both cases, since the first person reference is already implied in the pronominal suffixes in **רַגְלִי** (“my feet”) in v. 2 and **לִי** (“for me”) in v. 28, the two **וְאֲנִי** (“as for me”) can theoretically be excised from the text without altering the overall sense. Given that both **וְאֲנִי** in v. 2 and v. 28 are involved in the same highly marked syntactic construction and function identically in their respective contexts, they very likely represent the psalmist’s conscious effort to establish a rhetorical link. If so, then to the extent that the disjunctive **וְאֲנִי** in v. 28 is generally viewed not as signalling a break but as part of the same rhetorical unit that begins in v. 27, the syntactically identical **וְאֲנִי** in v. 2 should also be similarly regarded. This would provide support for taking v. 2 together with v. 1 as part of the psalm’s introduction, so that the *inclusio* that frames the two sections is indicated not only by the repetition of **טִיב** in v. 1 and v. 28, but also by the recurrence of the two grammatically redundant but functionally identical uses of **וְאֲנִי** in v. 2 and v. 28 <sup>32</sup>.

But even if v. 2 is taken as part of the psalm’s introduction, the question remains as to where this introductory section ends. For even among those who take v. 2 as part of the introduction, opinion is still divided between those who see a break at the end of v. 2 and those who see a break occurring only at the end of v. 3. The former argue that content-wise vv. 3-12 is clearly united by a focus on the apparent prosperity of the wicked <sup>33</sup>. In addition, it has also been argued that

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personal pronoun in v. 22 is likely conjunctive rather than disjunctive since it continues the psalmist’s series of introspective self-disclosures that begins in v. 21.

<sup>31</sup> That is not to say that rule-bound constructions can never be rhetorically significant. The issue is how to interpret an obligatory feature: is it present simply because it has to be, or is it imbued with rhetorical significance by the hands of a skilful author?

<sup>32</sup> That **וְאֲנִי** is part of the *inclusio* is also noted by CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73–150*, 16.

<sup>33</sup> WEISER, *Psalms*, 508; T.L. SMITH “A Crisis in Faith: An Exegesis of Psalm 73”,

v. 3 and v. 12 apparently form an *inclusio* that frames the entire unit, as both verses refer to “the wicked” (רשעים) and describe them using a phonologically and semantically similar word-pair: שלום (“peace/prosperity”) in v. 3 and ושלוי (“at ease”) in v. 12.<sup>34</sup> Illman’s analysis of the particle כי as one of the structural markers occurring at the beginning of new rhetorical units also lends support to the view that a break occurs at the end of v. 2, since v. 3 begins with כי.<sup>35</sup>

Others, however, have located the unit break for the section at the end of v. 3.<sup>36</sup> After all, the confession of nearly falling in v. 2 demands further explanation, without which the psalm’s introduction would have left unmentioned the main issue that the psalm seeks to address. In addition, v. 3 appears to be a summary statement formally distinct from the detailed explanation that follows. Lastly, the fact that the כי at the beginning of v. 3 appears to be causal also suggests logical continuity with what precedes in v. 2.

Furthermore, while structurally one can point to the *inclusio* that frames v. 3 and v. 12 as support for taking vv. 3-12 as a self-contained rhetorical unit, Auffret has shown in one of his more convincing analyses that vv. 4-12 actually forms an effective chiasm, thus leaving v. 3 outside this chiastic structure and so free to be joined with vv. 1-2 as part of the psalm’s introduction.<sup>37</sup>

In addition, vv. 4-12 are characterised by the consistent use of third person verbs and subject references with not a single first person

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RQ 17 (1974) 162-184, here 163; ILLMAN, “Til tolknigen”, 123-124; CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73-150*, 16; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 20; BOADT, “Panels”, 538-539.

<sup>34</sup> PERDUE, *Wisdom and Cult*, 289; CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73-150*, 16; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 19. This is also noted by AUFFRET, “Étude structurelle”, 246-249, who initially proposes a chiastic structure with v. 3 and v. 12 as the outer frame. But Auffret (249-253) subsequently embraces an alternative chiastic arrangement encompassing vv. 1-15 over his original proposal.

<sup>35</sup> ILLMAN, “Til tolknigen”, 123-124.

<sup>36</sup> RHODES, *Psalms*, 108; A.A. ANDERSON, *The Book of Psalms*. 2 vols. (NCB; London 1972) 530; STUHLMEUILLER, *Psalms 73-150*, 11; AUFFRET, “Étude structurelle”, 249-251; SCHAEFER, *Psalms*, 178. In addition, although MCCANN, “Psalm 73”, 249, sees vv. 1-12 as the first of three major sections in the psalm, he also sets vv. 1-3 apart from vv. 4-12 as a subdivision within this major section.

<sup>37</sup> AUFFRET, “Étude structurelle”, 247, 249-251. Although Auffret tends to rely somewhat too heavily on indirectly related but stereotypically parallel word-pairs, such as “eye” and “mouth” or “to know” and “to speak”, in arguing for chiastic structures, in his treatment of vv. 4-12, the attention he calls to the contrasting אין and ישׁ in v. 5 and v. 11 and to the identical opening with לכן and closing with למו in v. 6 and v. 10 adds considerable weight to his analysis.

reference to be found. In contrast, both main verbs in v. 3 are in the first person. In this respect, v. 3 seems to show a closer grammatical connection with the first person references of v. 2 than with vv. 4-12.

As for the **כִּי** that begins v. 3, while I am in basic agreement with Illman that, in this psalm, **כִּי** functions as a structural marker for section beginnings, further differentiation is called for when considering the various occurrences of the particle. After all, both v. 3 and v. 4 begin with **כִּי**, and not even Illman would argue that v. 3 constitutes a section in itself with v. 4 indicating the beginning of a new section.

Looking at the four occurrences of **כִּי** within the psalm, one notices that in v. 21 and v. 27 the **כִּי** is most likely asseverative rather than causal<sup>38</sup>. For, in both cases, what immediately precedes **כִּי** is not caused by what follows. Thus, just as God's despising the wicked in v. 20 is not caused by the psalmist's bitterness or his regret of it (vv. 21-22), so God's being the psalmist's strength and portion in v. 26 is likewise not caused by the destruction of those far from God (v. 27). Instead, since both these occurrences of **כִּי** seem to signal a certain logical disjunction from what precedes, the particle is likely used in these cases to emphatically mark the transition into a new thought unit.

In contrast, the **כִּי** in v. 3 seems clearly causal, as most recognise that the psalmist's near fall in v. 2 is in fact caused by his envy of the prosperity of the wicked (v. 3)<sup>39</sup>. Since a causal **כִּי**, in disclosing the cause of what precedes, is logically conjunctive rather than disjunctive, the **כִּי** in v. 3 thus seems to link the verse with what precedes in v. 2<sup>40</sup>.

As for the **כִּי** in v. 4, while some take it as causal, an asseverative nuance is equally possible<sup>41</sup>. This is especially so since the cause of the psalmist's envy has already been disclosed in v. 3, such that the entire section (vv. 4-12) introduced by **כִּי** in v. 4 is best viewed as

<sup>38</sup> The **כִּי** in v. 21 can also be understood temporally as "when". See M. DAHOOD, *Psalms II: 51-100: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 17; New York 1974) 186, and H. IRSIGLER, *Psalm 73 — Monolog eines Weisen* (Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, 20; St. Ottilien 1984) 167.

<sup>39</sup> WEISER, *Psalms*, 509; ANDERSON, *Book of Psalms*, 530; H.-J. KRAUS, *Psalms 60-150*, 87; MAYS, *Psalms*, 241.

<sup>40</sup> IRSIGLER, *Psalm 73*, 167.

<sup>41</sup> WEISER, *Psalms*, 505; DAHOOD, *Psalms II*, 186; MARTENS, "Psalm 73", 16; KRAUS, *Psalms 60-150*, 82; TATE, *Psalms 51-100*; 226, 233-234; various English translations such as NAS, NKJ, RSV, ESV, all take the **כִּי** in v. 4 as causal. But IRSIGLER, *Psalm 73*, 167, and HOSSFELD – ZENGER, *Psalms*, 221, take it as asseverative.

evidence for the cause of that envy, namely, the prosperity of the wicked (v. 3). The distinction is admittedly a fine one, but if it is sustainable, then the כִּי in v. 4 could be translated “surely”, thus highlighting the evidence to be introduced. This would then put the כִּי in v. 4 in a similar category as the כִּי in v. 21 and v. 27, thus leaving the כִּי in v. 3 as the lone causal, and hence, conjunctive כִּי.

Related to this and equally significant is the fact that many have already noted the use of אֲנִי as a major structural marker <sup>42</sup>. In fact, a few have argued for the division of the psalm into three major sections (vv. 1-12; 13-17; 18-28) based entirely on the occurrences of אֲנִי as a marker at the beginning of a new section <sup>43</sup>. While the exact sense and function of אֲנִי generally varies with context, the majority of scholars take the particle within the psalm as asseverative, thus translating it “truly” or “surely” <sup>44</sup>.

But since it has just been argued that the three כִּי in v. 4, v. 21, and v. 27 are to be taken as asseverative, if the three אֲנִי in v. 1, v. 13, and v. 18 are also asseverative, then the six occurrences of these two particles would in essence be functioning identically <sup>45</sup>. This opens up the possibility that instead of אֲנִי alone functioning as a major structural marker that signals the beginning of a new rhetorical unit, כִּי is also used in tandem with אֲנִי to introduce new rhetorical units.

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<sup>42</sup> Although A. CAQUOT, “Le Psaume LXXIII”, *Semitica* 21 (1971) 44; RE-NAUD, “Le Psaume 73”, 543-544; ILLMAN, “Til tolknigen”, 123-124; CRENSHAW, “Psalm 73”, 98-99; and BRUEGGEMANN, *Message of the Psalms*, 116-119, among others, all consider אֲנִי to be a significant structural marker, they have neither given all three occurrences equal weight, nor do they regard אֲנִי as the only criteria for section division.

<sup>43</sup> KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 41; CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73-150*, 16; MCCANN, “Psalm 73”, 249; MAYS, *Psalms*, 240; GIRARD, *Les Psaumes*, 286; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 17; HOSSFELD – ZENGER, *Psalms*, 226.

<sup>44</sup> However, ALLEN, “Psalm 73”, 101, consistently takes אֲנִי as adversative, thus “notwithstanding”. KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 39-41, on the other hand, seems to consistently merge אֲנִי with אֵיךְ in v. 19, thus translating both as “how”. BAUMANN, “Struktur-Untersuchungen”, 126, seems to consistently take אֲנִי as restrictive, thus “only”. Still others such as ROGERSON – MCKAY, *Psalms 51-100*, 117-119; DAHOOD, *Psalms II*, 186-187; ROSS, “Psalm 73”, 161-162; SMITH, “A Crisis”, 170-178; KRAUS, *Psalms 60-150*, 82-83, are inconsistent, translating the word as “surely/indeed”, “nay/but”, “only”, “how”, or leaving it untranslated on different occasions within the psalm.

<sup>45</sup> In fact, other than the כִּי in v. 21, which he considers temporal, IRSIGLER, *Psalms* 73, 166-167, 170, has classified the remaining five instances of אֲנִי and כִּי in vv. 1, 4, 13, 18, 27 similarly as “Modalwort”.

Ample evidence exists to support such an understanding. To begin with, even those who see a tripartite structure to the psalm, based primarily on the occurrences of  $\text{אך}$ , rarely treat the psalm simply as three major blocs of material, but, instead, they further break the blocs down into subdivisions according to the logical flow of thought <sup>46</sup>. But the most common locations where these subdivisions are made happen to be exactly where the three asseverative uses of  $\text{כי}$  are found: at v. 4, v. 21, and v. 27 <sup>47</sup>. In addition, it is noteworthy that the six instances where the two particles carry an asseverative nuance happen to be located where major shifts in subject references are found. For while an emphatic contrast between God and the psalmist is featured in vv. 1-3 (the section beginning with  $\text{אך}$ ), vv. 4-12 (beginning with  $\text{כי}$ ) focus exclusively on the wicked, as all finite verbs and subject references are in the third person <sup>48</sup>. In vv. 13-17 (beginning with  $\text{אך}$ ), subject references and finite verbs are all in the first person as the focus shifts back exclusively to the psalmist <sup>49</sup>. In vv. 18-20 (beginning with  $\text{אך}$ ), the finite verbs shift again to second and third person forms, as God, being addressed directly, and the wicked alternate as subject. Another shift occurs in vv. 21-26 (beginning with  $\text{כי}$ ), where the subject now alternates between God and the psalmist, with God being addressed mainly in the second person. A final shift occurs in v. 27 (beginning with  $\text{כי־הנה}$ ) where, just as in vv. 1-3, an emphatic contrast is featured, this time between the wicked and the psalmist <sup>50</sup>.

Furthermore, under this arrangement, if one disregards for the moment the introductory and concluding sections in vv. 1-3 and vv. 27-

<sup>46</sup> COLE, *Shape and Message*, 19, 23, for example, speaks of “verse paragraphs” within the three main strophes. CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73–150*, 16-17; McCANN, “Psalm 73”, 249; MAYS, *Psalms*, 240, also make further subdivisions within their tripartite structure.

<sup>47</sup> KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 39, 41; McCANN, “Psalm 73”, 249; MAYS, *Psalms*, 240; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 21, 23; HOSSFELD – ZENGER, *Psalms*, 226. In fact, KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 42; CLIFFORD, *Psalms 73–150*, 17; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 19, even make a subdivision at v. 3, which happens to be where the lone causal  $\text{כי}$  is found.

<sup>48</sup> Although there is a reference to God in v. 11, it occurs in a quotation of the words of the wicked. The focus of v. 11, therefore, is not so much on God but on how the wicked view God.

<sup>49</sup> While this statement is generally true, it requires further refinement because there appears to be evidence to support the further subdivision of vv. 13-17 into two subsections. This will be discussed subsequently.

<sup>50</sup> For a more visual presentation of the distribution of subject references in the various sections, see the chart of pronominal elements in IRSIGLER, *Psalms* 73, 173.



28 (which begin respectively with אֶךְ and כִּי־הִנֵּה), the four remaining sections would begin respectively with כִּי (v. 4), אֶךְ (v. 13), אֶךְ (v. 18), כִּי (v. 21) — a chiasmic arrangement.

Given these observations, a strong case can be made to regard not just אֶךְ alone but also the pairing of כִּי with אֶךְ as complementary structural markers that signal the beginning of new sections<sup>51</sup>. Returning to where all this discussion started, if the כִּי in v. 3 does not function primarily as a structural marker but merely to connect v. 3 with what precedes by providing cause, while it is the כִּי in v. 4 that functions as a structural marker signalling section division, then the introductory section of the psalm should comprise vv. 1-3 and not just vv. 1-2.

Now that the introductory and concluding sections of the psalm have been set at vv. 1-3 and vv. 27-28 respectively, in what ways do the two sections join up to form a ring composition? Other than the first and last clauses merging into a continuous circle and the presence of an *inclusio* involving טוֹב and וְאֲנִי in vv. 1-2 and v. 28, one can also discern a further structural parallel between the two sections.

In the earlier discussion of the division of the psalm into six major sections based on the use of אֶךְ and כִּי as structural markers, it was pointed out that vv. 1-3 and vv. 27-28 both feature an emphatic contrast, the former between the psalmist and God, and the latter between the psalmist and the wicked. But closer examination reveals that, besides the two main characters involved in each pair of contrasts, the remaining character in the God-psalmist-wicked trio is also prominently featured and similarly introduced in the two sections. In fact, of the six major sections of the psalm, the introductory and concluding sections are the only two where all three characters are prominently featured<sup>52</sup>.

In the introductory section where the contrast between God and the psalmist is featured in vv. 1-2, the wicked are introduced through כִּי in v. 3 as the cause behind the psalmist's וְאֲנִי. Similarly, in the concluding section where the contrast is between the wicked and the

<sup>51</sup> In this, I am in basic agreement with ILLMAN, "Til tolknningen", 123-124, except that he attaches more rhetorical significance to the כִּי in v. 3 instead of the one in v. 4. I am, however, skeptical about his attempt to add וְאֲנִי into the mix as וְאֲנִי does not occur in conjunction with either particle in every instance. His use of וְאֲדָרִי in v. 14 to make up for the absence of וְאֲנִי and his equating of אֶיךָ in v. 19 with אֶךְ also seem insufficiently justified.

<sup>52</sup> Actually, in v. 17 all three characters are also mentioned. This will receive further treatment in the subsequent discussion of the turning point.

psalmist in vv. 27-28a, God is brought in at v. 28b, not so much as cause, but as result of the psalmist's **וַאֲנִי**. And just as the wicked, referred to in v. 3 through the essentially synonymous pair **הוֹלָלִים** ("the arrogant") and **רָשָׁעִים** ("the wicked"), function as part of the direct objects of **קִנְאָתִי** ("I envied") and **אֶרְאֶה** ("I saw"), God, referred to in v. 28b through the related pair **יְהוָה אֱדַנִּי** ("the Lord YHWH") and **כָּל-מַלְאכֹתָיִךְ** ("all your works") also function as direct objects of **שָׁתִּי** ("I have made") and **לְסַפֵּר** ("to recount").

Furthermore, the two first person verbs **קִנְאָתִי** ("I envied") and **אֶרְאֶה** ("I saw") in v. 3 are most naturally understood as simultaneous to each other, so that the pair is most commonly translated as "I envied [...] as I saw [...]"<sup>53</sup>. Although the infinitive construct **לְסַפֵּר** ("to recount") that follows the first person **שָׁתִּי** ("I have made") in v. 28b is often understood as indicating purpose/result, at least one English translation takes it as an infinitive of attendant circumstances, thus also implying a simultaneous relationship with the preceding verb<sup>54</sup>. Admittedly, the infinitive construct is more commonly used to indicate purpose/result than attendant circumstances, but in v. 28 it is difficult to see such a logical connection since recounting God's works does not require someone to first make him one's refuge. In fact, there is no obvious cause-effect relationship between these two actions. Thus, if the simultaneous option indeed makes better sense, then vv. 1-3 and vv. 27-28 can be viewed as two parallel panels as follows:

v. 1	Surely God [...]	v. 27	Surely look, those far from you [...]
v. 2	But as for me, [...]	v. 28a	But as for me, [...]
v. 3	For I envied the arrogant as I saw [...] the wicked	v. 28b	I have made the Lord YHWH [...] as I recount [...] your works

What is further noteworthy is the apparent embedding of a chiasmic arrangement within these two panels based on the characters in focus:

v. 1	God [...]
v. 2	as for me [...]
v. 3	the arrogant [...] the wicked
v. 27	those far from you [...] all who are unfaithful towards you
v. 28a	as for me [...]
v. 28b	[...] the Lord YHWH [...]

<sup>53</sup> See the various English translations, such as NIV, NET, ESV, NAU, NJK, and NLT.

<sup>54</sup> Translations that take the infinitive construct as purpose/result include TNK, ESV, NAU, NKJ, NRS, and NJB. But NET takes it as attendant circumstances indicating simultaneous action.

In this chiasmic arrangement, the psalmist begins in vv. 1-3 with a declaration of God's goodness, contrasts it with his own near fall, and discloses the cause of that near fall as the apparent prosperity of the wicked. Then after recounting his struggle and subsequent breakthrough in vv. 4-26, in vv. 27-28 the psalmist concludes by summarising the new insight he gained about God's dealing with the wicked, contrasts it with new insight about his own relationship with God, and finally ends with a declaration of trust and a vow to praise as responses that flow from these new insights. In so doing, the psalmist has reversed the "God-I-they" trajectory of vv. 1-3 with a "they-I-God" trajectory in vv. 27-28, thus bringing the end of the psalm back to where he first began: a reaffirmation of God's goodness.

Based on these logical, syntactic, and structural-rhetorical considerations, it seems clear, therefore, that the introductory and concluding sections of the psalm are intricately joined to each other both linguistically and in sense, thus satisfying one of the foremost requirements of a ring composition.

## 2. *The Turning Point*

As has been pointed out earlier, a ring composition should also be characterised by a well-marked turning point in the middle that demonstrates significant correspondences both verbally and thematically with the beginning and the end, so that the whole composition displays close interconnections. Does such a turning point exist in Psalm 73?

That a turning point exists within the psalm at v. 17 is recognised by the majority of scholars<sup>55</sup>. Although this identification is based mostly on logic and content, structural support can also be cited.

It has already been pointed out that when the psalm is broken down into six major sections, the introductory and concluding sections are the only two that feature all three main characters within the psalm: God, the psalmist, and the wicked. Although in the earlier analysis v. 17 is provisionally regarded as part of vv. 13-17, where first person subjects and verb forms dominate, v. 17 is also the only verse in the psalm where reference is made to the entire trio of main charac-

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<sup>55</sup> CRENSHAW, "Psalm 73", 104; KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 41; BRUEGGEMANN – MILLER, "Psalm 73", 47; L.C. ALLEN, "Psalm 73: Pilgrimage from Doubt to Faith", *BBR* 7 (1997) 1-10, here 6; KARTJE, *Wisdom*, 91, 100-105, are among those who have explicitly identified v. 17 as the turning point (also referred to as "pivot", "inversion", or "shift").

ters: the psalmist through the finite verbs אָבִיא (“I enter”) and אֲבִינָה (“I understand”), God through the genitive מִקְדָּשֵׁי־אֵל (“the sanctuary of God”), and the wicked through the pronominal suffix in אַחֲרֵיהֶם (“their end”). In this respect, v. 17 shows significant correspondence with the introductory and concluding sections of the psalm, a feature required of turning points in ring compositions<sup>56</sup>.

Assuming that v. 17 indeed marks the middle turning point, it is also necessary to determine the precise boundaries of this turning point. That v. 18 begins with אֵךְ and commences a section in which second and third person forms dominate (as opposed to the first person forms in vv. 13-16) makes it obvious that the closing boundary of this turning point is at v. 17. But what about its opening boundary, since there is no אֵךְ or כִּי to mark further section openings between v. 13 and v. 18? Here, the placement of the structural marker הִנֵּה in v. 15 seems to provide some clarity.

The particle הִנֵּה is found three times within the psalm in vv. 12, 15, and 27. Its occurrences in v. 12 and v. 27 have been noted by those who consider the particle a significant structural marker signalling the end of a rhetorical unit<sup>57</sup>. But curiously, in most of these discussions, little mention is made of the הִנֵּה in v. 15, nor is any explanation given for that omission<sup>58</sup>. One suspects that this is largely due to the fact that, unlike the הִנֵּה in v. 12 and v. 27, the one in v. 15 does not occur at a verse-initial position<sup>59</sup>.

But one should not overlook a significant parallel between the הִנֵּה in v. 12 and v. 15. Just as הִנֵּה in v. 12 is preceded by a direct quote (that of the wicked), which is introduced in v. 11 by וְאָמְרוּ (“they

<sup>56</sup> For a presentation of the distribution of the three main characters within the psalm in diagram form, see IRSIGLER, *Psalms 73*, 308, 337.

<sup>57</sup> See BAUMANN, “Struktur-Untersuchungen”, 127; A. SCHMITT, *Entrückung – Aufnahme – Himmelfahrt*. Untersuchungen zu einem Verstellungsbereich im AT (Stuttgart 1973) 261-263; RENAUD, “Le Psaume 73”, 543-544; TATE, *Psalms 51–100*, 232; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 20, among others. In addition, KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 42, also notes the antithetical association that exists between the two occurrences of הִנֵּה in v. 12 and v. 27.

<sup>58</sup> One exception is GIRARD, *Les Psaumes*, 287, who not only notes the occurrence of הִנֵּה in all three major sections of the psalm according to his division, but also points out that the appearance of הִנֵּה in vv. 13-17 is at the centre of the section, whereas in vv. 1-12 and vv. 18-28 it appears towards the end. Unfortunately, Girard has not further fleshed out the significance of this variation.

<sup>59</sup> This seems to find confirmation in IRSIGLER, *Psalms 73*, 170, who discusses הִנֵּה in v. 12 and v. 27 under the heading “Satzeinleitende Funktionswörter”, thus making it natural to leave out the הִנֵּה in v. 15 since it occurs in mid-verse.

said”), so also הנה in v. 15 is preceded by a direct quote (the intended words of the psalmist) introduced by אִם-אֶמְרָתִי (“if I say”) <sup>60</sup>. In fact, given the somewhat odd phrasing of v. 15, where the direct quote does not really disclose the content of the psalmist’s intended words but simply repeats his desire to recount, one suspects that v. 15 may have been so constructed specifically for the purpose of establishing a structural parallel with v. 12. In this way, to make up for the absence of אֶךְ or כִּי to introduce the new section comprising vv. 16-17, attention will be drawn to הנה as a marker for the end of the preceding section comprising vv. 13-15 <sup>61</sup>.

There is further support for separating vv. 16-17 from vv. 13-15 to serve as the turning point. While v. 17 ends with אֲחֵרֵיהֶם (“their end”), with the third person suffix anticipating the shift in focus onto the wicked in vv. 18-20, v. 16 begins with a declaration that the psalmist had sought to understand זֹאת (“this”), a reference not so much to what immediately precedes in v. 15, but most naturally to the apparent prosperity of the wicked spoken of in vv. 4-12. Since the apparent prosperity of the wicked lies at the heart of the psalmist’s struggle, and new insight into their final destiny provides the key to renewed faith, one can say that the זֹאת in v. 16, which points back to the heart of the problem, and the אֲחֵרֵיהֶם in v. 17, which anticipates its resolution, in effect turns vv. 16-17 into a hinge that bridges the sections that precede and follow. To the extent that the issue concerning the prosperity of the wicked is first introduced in v. 3, while insight concerning their destiny is finally summarised in v. 27, one can say further that even content-wise the turning point that comprises vv. 16-17 is intricately linked with the introductory and concluding sections of the psalm.

### 3. *Corresponding Parallel Sections*

According to Douglas, a key requirement of a ring composition is the arrangement of the remaining sections chiastically across the dividing line on either side of the turning point, so that the section on one side of the turning point is matched by a corresponding section on

<sup>60</sup> One could argue for a further parallel between vv. 9-12 and vv. 13-15 in that the direct quotes in v. 11 and v. 15 both seem to flow from what immediately precedes in their respective contexts. For while the כִּנּוּי (“like this”) in v. 15 most likely points back to the psalmist’s complaint in vv. 13-14, the words of the wicked quoted in v. 11 are likely an illustration of how, according to v. 9a, they “set their mouth against heaven”.

<sup>61</sup> In this, I disagree with GIRARD, *Les Psaumes*, 291-292, who asserts that the section comprising vv. 13-17 lacks any internal architecture.

the other side in reverse order<sup>62</sup>. For Psalm 73, it has already been shown that, apart from the introductory and concluding sections and the middle turning point, the remainder of the psalm can be divided into four main sections, each introduced by the structural marker **אך** or **כי**. It has also been pointed out that the markers are arranged chiasmatically, such that it follows the pattern **כי** (v. 4) – **אך** (v. 13) – **אך** (v. 18) – **כי** (v. 21). This already suggests that the **כי** and the **אך** sections on each side of the turning point are designed to function as corresponding sections.

That the two **כי** sections in vv. 4-12 and vv. 21-26 are set against each other can be seen from the recurrence of several key terms. As some have already noted, the related pair **בשמים** (“in heaven”) and **בארץ** (“on earth”), used in tandem to form a merism in v. 9, is also present and similarly used in v. 25<sup>63</sup>. Thus, if the reach of the wicked’s arrogant words seems limitless, God’s importance to the psalmist is unrivalled. The repetition of **עולם** at the end of the respective sections is also significant, for while in v. 12 the psalmist summarises the state of the wicked as **שְׁלוֹי עוֹלָם** (“at ease forever”), in v. 26 he realises that **חֶלְקִי אֱלֹהִים לְעוֹלָם** (“God is [...] my portion forever”).

There is also the repetition of **לֵב** (“heart”) in v. 7 and v. 26. Although **לֵב** is found six times in five verses within the psalm, other than the introduction of the main theme “God is good [...] to those pure in heart” in v. 1, the other occurrences seem strategically placed to form rhetorical links in corresponding sections. Leaving aside its occurrence in v. 13 and v. 21 for the moment, it is noteworthy that in v. 7 and v. 26 **לֵב** is found with an additional term associated with the human body: in v. 7, **שִׁכּוֹת לֵב** (“heart’s imaginations”) parallels **עֵינֵינוּ** (“their eyes”), whereas in v. 26, **לִבִּי** (“my heart”) is conjoined with **שָׁאֲרִי** (“my flesh”) <sup>64</sup>. Thus, while in v. 7 the eyes and heart of the wicked reflect greed and transgression, in v. 26 the body and heart of the psalmist, though failing, are strengthened by God.

To show that the two **אך** sections in vv. 13-15 and vv. 18-20 correspond to each other poses a greater challenge. For unlike the two **כי**

<sup>62</sup> DOUGLAS, *Thinking in Circles*, 6, 14, 36.

<sup>63</sup> ALLEN, “Psalm 73”, 105; KRAŠOVEC, *Antithetic Structure*, 44; GIRARD, *Les Psaumes*, 288; AUFFRET, “Étude structurelle”, 266.

<sup>64</sup> For **עֵינֵינוּ** “their eyes” in v. 7, the LXX and Peshitta seem to read **עֲוֹנוֹנוּ** (“their iniquity”). But the verse is notoriously difficult, and since it is possible to make sense of either reading, until further insight is forthcoming, I will simply follow the MT. Should the variant reading prove preferable, the correspondence between v. 7 and v. 26 would admittedly be jeopardized.

sections, there appears to be no recurrence of a key term that directly links the sections together. But in spite of the lack of recurring terms, the sections do share certain commonalities that link them together.

Concerning the overall arrangement of the four sections into two halves on each side of the turning point, it has already been pointed out that vv. 4-12 and vv. 13-15, which precede the turning point, are characterised respectively by the exclusive use of third and first person subject references and verbs. The same dominance of third and first person subject references and verbs are also found respectively in vv. 18-20 and vv. 21-26, except that in these sections second person subject references and verbs referring to God are also present. What this suggests is that prior to the turning point, the reality perceived is focused exclusively on the wicked and the psalmist himself, with God not being part of the picture. But after the turning point, God, addressed directly in the second person, enters the picture, and with that comes a vastly different perception of reality from before: characters who occupy favourable and unfavourable positions are suddenly reversed. Thus, while in the כִּי section of vv. 4-12 the wicked seem to occupy a favourable position by their prosperity, in the כִּי section of vv. 21-26 it is now the psalmist who is blessed with the abiding presence and fellowship of God. Likewise, while in the הֵן section of vv. 13-15 the psalmist seems to have occupied an unfavourable position by virtue of his daily afflictions, in the הֵן section of vv. 18-20 that unfavourable position has now gone to the wicked, who face imminent destruction from God. In this respect, even though no recurring term exists to directly link vv. 13-15 to vv. 18-20, by virtue of their contrastive relationship with each other, which mirrors the contrastive relationship between the כִּי sections of vv. 4-12 and vv. 21-26, one can argue that the הֵן sections of vv. 13-15 and vv. 18-20 are also set against each other as corresponding parallel sections.

#### *4. Additional Development of the Basic Ring*

All that has been demonstrated so far about the interrelationships that link the beginning, end, middle turning point, and the four corresponding parallel sections arranged chiastically on either side of the turning point would have been enough to support the claim that Psalm 73 is indeed a ring. But taking the circular nature of the ring one step further, the psalmist appears to have introduced an additional horizontal axis to turn the two sets of chiastically arranged sections on either side of the turning point into a true quadrant of four mutually corresponding sections.



If one considers the two sections that focus primarily on the psalmist, namely the אָךְ section in vv. 13-15 and the כִּי section in vv. 21-26, one notices that content-wise v. 13 and vv. 21-22, which open the respective sections, seem to share certain common features. First, v. 13 and vv. 21-22 are both self-evaluative statements that express regret. Second, both regrets concern the psalmist's own past actions or attitudes. Third, both expressions of regret appear to have been directly caused not only by observations or insight about the wicked in the immediately preceding sections, but also by the psalmist's perceptions about his own situation, which are given expression in the sections that immediately follow. Therefore, to the extent that the two self-evaluative statements are related both to what immediately precedes and what immediately follows, they seem to function as hinge statements that bridge the material on either side of them.

In v. 13, through רִיק ("in vain") the psalmist expresses regret about having previously purified his heart and washed his hands in innocence. That regret appears to have been brought on both by the prosperity of the wicked observed in vv. 4-12 and by his own suffering disclosed in vv. 14-15. In vv. 21-22, by calling himself בָּעַר ("brutish") and בְּהֵמוֹה ("beast-like") the psalmist again expresses regret, but this time about his previous envy and bitterness, feelings which, incidentally, found expression in the regret he had earlier recounted in v. 13. And like that earlier regret, this new regret is also brought on both by insights about the wicked in vv. 18-20 and by realizations about his relationship with God in vv. 23-26. The psalmist's visit to God's sanctuary in v. 17 has apparently so changed his perspective that he now regrets his earlier regret.

This parallel between v. 13 and vv. 21-22 is also structurally supported. For not only are both self-evaluative statements placed at the beginning of their respective sections to serve as a hinge between what immediately precedes and what immediate follows, but also the key term לִבִּי ("my heart") is found in both sections in conjunction with another term related to the physical body. Thus, while in v. 13 לִבִּי is used in conjunction with כַּפִּי ("my hands") to bring out the substance of the psalmist's regret, in v. 21 לִבִּי is used in conjunction with כְּלִיָּתִי ("my kidneys", used figuratively here to indicate emotions) to bring out the substance of his new regret.

Given these parallels in content, structure, and recurrence of key terms, it seems likely that v. 13 and vv. 21-22 are intentionally linked to form an imaginary line that functions as a secondary axis. In fact, recognizing this will go a long way towards explaining why vv. 21-22

are placed exactly where they are, in spite of the assertions by some that these verses are logically misplaced and should be moved to a different position <sup>65</sup>.

To provide further proof that the imaginary line that joins v. 13 and vv. 21-22 indeed functions as a secondary horizontal axis, it should be noted that, in line with how an axis normally functions, material on the same side of this axis indeed seems to share similarities, while material on the opposite side of the axis seems to show contrasts.

First, it is important to consider the material found on opposite sides of this axis. At one end of the axis in v. 13, the prosperity of the wicked in vv. 4-12 is contrasted with the affliction of the psalmist in vv. 14-15, both contributing to the psalmist's regret expressed in the hinge verse that represents that end of the axis. A key term that highlights the contrast in these sections is נגע ("to afflict") in v. 5 and v. 14, which is passive in both cases (Pual in v. 5 and Qal passive in v. 14). Thus, while in v. 5 the wicked are portrayed as not being afflicted like the rest of humanity, the psalmist, in contrast, is depicted as being afflicted all day (v. 14). As this contrast seems to lie at the heart of the psalmist's struggle, the recurrence of נגע appears to play a significant role in explaining why the psalmist initially regretted his righteous living.

At the other end of the axis in vv. 21-22, the imminent destruction of the wicked (vv. 18-20) is contrasted with the fellowship with God that the psalmist continually enjoys (vv. 23-26). Here, although no repetition of key term is found that highlights the contrast, a word-play involving the homonymous roots חלק ("slippery ground") in v. 18 and חלק ("portion") in v. 26 may prove significant <sup>66</sup>. After all, the contrast between the wicked, who have been placed on slippery grounds, and the psalmist, who has God as his portion, seems, indeed, to lie at

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<sup>65</sup> While GUNKEL, *Die Psalmen*, 311, 314, 319, suggests moving v. 21 to after v. 15 and v. 22 to after v. 16, BAUMANN, "Struktur- Untersuchungen", 128-129, and BLANK, "Nearness of God", 70, suggest moving vv. 21-22 as a unit to between v. 15 and v. 16.

<sup>66</sup> This is first mentioned by ALLEN, "Psalm 73", 106, and subsequently by BRUEGGEMANN, *Message of the Psalms*, 120; AUFFRET, "Étude structurelle" 259; COLE, *Shape and Message*, 25. Note that DAHOOD, *Psalms II*, 192, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II", *Bib* 45 (1964) 392-412, here 408, argues from Ugaritic that חלק actually means "to perish", and hence, the related noun in v. 18 means "perdition" rather than "slippery slopes". This does not affect our analysis, however, as it works equally well if the contrast is between the wicked destined for perdition and the psalmist having God as his portion.

the heart of the psalmist's re-evaluation of the situation. And that re-evaluation resulted in his eventual regret of his former bitterness, expressed in the hinge in vv. 21-22 which form the other end of the presumed axis.

Where material on either side of this horizontal axis is concerned, if viewed strictly in a linear fashion going from the beginning of the psalm to its end, then the self-evaluative statements in v. 13 and vv. 21-22 are both preceded by sections focusing on the fortunes of the wicked (vv. 4-12 and vv. 18-20), and followed by disclosures about the psalmist's own situation (vv. 14-15 and vv. 23-26). But if viewed as a chiastically arranged ring, then the focus of vv. 4-12 and vv. 23-26 on one side of this axis would be on the blessings enjoyed by the wicked and the psalmist respectively, while the focus of vv. 14-15 and vv. 18-20 on the other side of this axis would be on the woes, those already experienced by the psalmist and those that will eventually be experienced by the wicked.

In fact, as the following simplified skeletal diagram of the psalm shows, once the self-evaluative statements of v. 13 and vv. 21-22 are joined into a secondary horizontal axis, it, along with the vertical axis created by the joining of the middle turning point with the introductory and concluding sections, will have effectively divided the body of the psalm into four mutually related quadrants, each simultaneously sharing a significant similarity as well as significant contrasts with any of the other three quadrants. Thus, a truly circular structure has been created, in which every rhetorical unit finds a balanced counterpart no matter what direction one looks. In this regard, Psalm 73 is indeed structured as a ring, and an almost perfectly crafted ring at that.

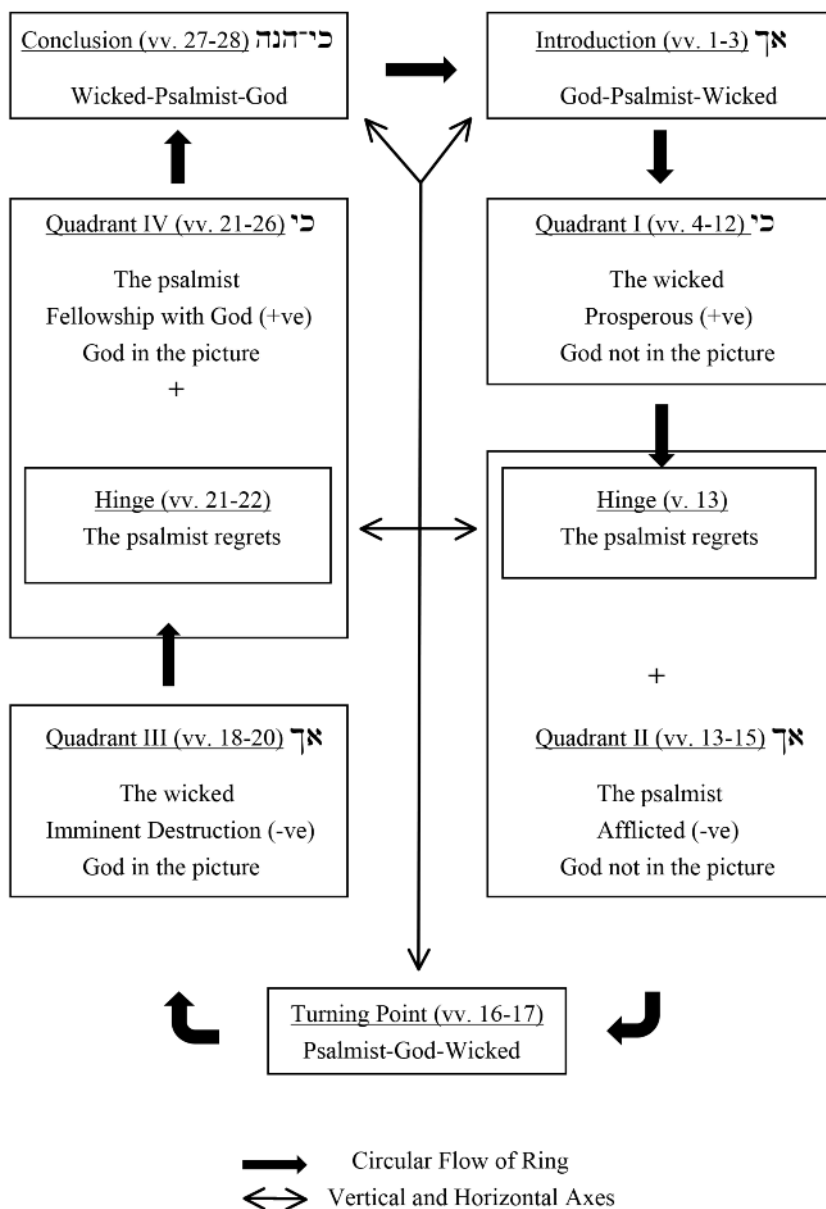
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### Summary

This article seeks to analyse the structure of Psalm 73 as a ring composition based on characteristics identified by Mary Douglas. With special attention paid to key structural markers used throughout the psalm, it will be argued that Psalm 73 is an elegant and almost perfect ring, with the introductory and concluding sections merging into each other and closely interconnected with a middle turning point. The rest of the psalm is arranged chiastically with matching parallel sections on either side of the turning point.

## STRUCTURAL DIAGRAM OF PSALM 73



## Vice and Virtue in the Moral Vision of the Latin of Sirach

The book of Ben Sira was written in Hebrew around 180 BCE and was translated into Greek by the author's grandson in the late second century BCE. Around the turn of the third century CE a Greek copy, which was evidently different from all other surviving Greek manuscripts, was translated into Latin in Roman North Africa<sup>1</sup>. The surviving Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuscripts reveal that through late antiquity the transmission and translation of the book resulted in numerous accretions, alterations, and additions in the content<sup>2</sup>. Although this supplemental material reflects some consistent themes, the changes and additions most likely arose in an incremental and piecemeal fashion rather than as part of large-scale recensional activity<sup>3</sup>. The expansions found in various Greek texts are termed "Greek II" (GrII) and the Latin

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<sup>1</sup> For a demonstration that the Latin was based on a Greek text see H. HERKENNE, *De veteris latinae Ecclesiastici capitibus I-XLIII: Una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus aethiopica, armeniaca, copticis, latina altera, syro-hexaplari depromptis* (Leipzig 1899) 9. While all surviving Greek manuscripts have 30,25-33.16a and 33,16b-36.13a transposed, the Latin has the correct arrangement of chapters, indicating a *Vorlage* antecedent to the exemplar for all surviving Greek witnesses. A North African provenance (at least for chapters 1–43) was demonstrated by P. THIELMANN, "Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach", *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 9 (1893) 501–561; Id., "Die europäischen Bestandteile des lateinischen Sirach", *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 9 (1894) 247–284. Thielmann argues that Sirach 1–43; 51 was translated in the first half of the third century while chapters 44–50 were translated sometime later in Europe. An earlier date, in the late second century, was advocated by D. DE BRUYNE, "Étude sur le texte latin de l'Écclesiastique", *RBén* 40 (1928) 5–48, here 6. For a critique of Thielmann's thesis that chapters 44–50 were not part of the original translation see W. THIELE, *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*. Vol. XI/2: *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 1–24* (Freiburg 1987–2005) 120–124.

<sup>2</sup> Due to the textual variety of Ben Sira, there are different numbering systems for the chapters and verses. In this study the numbering will follow that of Ziegler's critical edition of the Greek with the corresponding Latin numbering placed in parentheses. J. ZIEGLER, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum XII,2; Göttingen 1965).

<sup>3</sup> See M. GILBERT, "Introduction to Kearns' Dissertation", in C. KEARNS, *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus: Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to Its Origin* (ed. P.C. BEENTJES) (DCLS 11; Berlin 2011) 9–21, here 21; J. GILE, "The Additions to Ben Sira and the Book's Multiform Textual Witness", *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira: Transmission and Interpretation* (eds. J.-S. REY – J. JOOSTEN) (JSJSup 150; Leiden 2011) 237–256, here 255–256.

appears to have been based on a Greek manuscript with many (but not all) of these expansions. In fact, compared to the shorter Greek text, Legrand calculated that the Latin is approximately 11-12% longer <sup>4</sup>. In cases where expansions in the Latin are not found in any extant Greek manuscripts, including cases of doublets, many scholars think that many or most of these were probably in the Latin's Greek *Vorlage* rather than originating in the Latin <sup>5</sup>.

### I. Vice and Virtue in the Latin Expansions to Sirach

Several studies have demonstrated that the expansions found in the Greek and Latin manuscripts have broad consistency of perspective. Conleth Kearns noted that the teaching of the expansions on the subjects of God, Israel, the soul, ethics, and eschatology was coherent throughout the book <sup>6</sup>. Recently, a comprehensive study of the Greek additions by Severino Bussino has shown that the themes of anthropology, the closeness of God, wisdom, friendship, women, the law, and eschatology are prominent in these additions <sup>7</sup>. While the additional expansions in the Latin show continuity with the themes of GrII it also has its own distinctive elements. Jason Gile argues that in comparison to the Greek witnesses the Latin version is far more interested in postmortem punishment and reward, and this suggests that not all Latin additions reflect a Greek *Vorlage* <sup>8</sup>. In his analysis of the Latin version, Thierry Legrand takes a holistic approach to the additional

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<sup>4</sup> T. LEGRAND, "La version latine de Ben Sira. État de la question, essai de classement thématique des «additions»", *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*, 215-234, here 218.

<sup>5</sup> See A. FORTE, "The Old Latin Version of Sirach: Editio Critica and Textual Problems", *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*, 199-214, here 203; M. GILBERT, "The Vetus Latina of Ecclesiasticus", *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*, 1-9; W. THIELE, "Die lateinische Sirachtexte als Zeugnis der griechischen Sirachüberlieferung", *Evangelium. Schriftauslegung. Kirche. Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. J. ÄDNA et al.) (Göttingen 1997) 394-402.

<sup>6</sup> KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 61-93. Also important is the study of manuscript 248, one of the most important witnesses to GrII additions, by J.H.A. HART, *Ecclesiasticus: The Greek Text of Codex 248*. Edited with a Textual Commentary and Prolegomena (Cambridge 1909).

<sup>7</sup> S. BUSSINO, *The Greek Additions in the Book of Ben Sira* (tr. M. TAIT) (AnBib 203; Rome 2013) 416-419.

<sup>8</sup> GILE, "Additions", 250-253. Notably, Rey has argued that in the shorter Greek version a concern with the afterlife is even more subdued than often supposed. See J.-S. REY, "L'espérance post-mortem dans les différentes versions du Siracide", *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*, 257-279.

material and sorts the various changes and additions into three themes: (1) the Latin emphasizes that God is Creator, omnipotent, and omniscient; (2) Wisdom is exalted and presented as the source of blessings; (3) ethically, human conduct is increasingly oriented toward wisdom, justice, truth, and humility and moderation<sup>9</sup>.

Implied in Legrand's analysis of the third theme is that the classic cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, and temperance increase in prominence in the moral vision of the Latin version, but references to the fourth classic virtue of fortitude are also frequent<sup>10</sup>. The pervasive concern for these virtues suggests that the influence of virtue/vice thinking in this version deserves more attention<sup>11</sup>. While lists of particularly egregious sins can be found in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Prov 6,16-19), in the Second Temple period Hellenistic conceptions of virtue and vice began influencing some Jewish (and Christian) authors<sup>12</sup>. For example, in Wis 8,7 the four cardinal virtues of temperance, prudence, justice, and fortitude are listed as the characteristics of righteousness (cf. 4 Macc 1,18). Regarding vices, Jewish texts from the late Second Temple period show a great variety in the lists of the most significant vices and in how these texts understand the relationships of vices to one another<sup>13</sup>. Consonant with this trend, when the

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<sup>9</sup> LEGRAND, "La version latine", 224-233. An alternate approach to studying the changes and expansions is to study particular passages, seeking to assess how these elements reshape the teaching of the pericope in which they are found. For this approach see the study of M. GILBERT, "Les additions grecques et latines à Siracide 24", *Lectures et relectures de la Bible*. Festschrift P.-M. Bogaert (eds. J.-M. AUWERS – A. WÉNIN) (BETL 144; Leuven 1999) 195-207.

<sup>10</sup> In the additions and alterations found in the Latin version, most often fortitude is oriented toward waiting for God (e.g. 2,2-3 [3-4].17 [21]; 34,18 [22]). It is practically equated with obedience to the commandments, even in difficulties, and its opposite consists in moral compromise (e.g. 2,14 [16].17 [21]; 5,12; 17,24 [20].26 [23-24]; 22,18 [23]; 34,18 [22]). In a few places the figure of Wisdom is the one that grants fortitude (e.g. 4,18 [20]; 27,8 [8-9]). Cf. KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 75-76.

<sup>11</sup> In Kearns' categorization of the additions related to "moral evil", he has lists of verses only for pride and sins of the tongue beyond general comments about sin, wickedness, and impiety. However, in a footnote he notes that while pride and speech sins are the two most condemned sins, there are two instances of envy (6,1; 31,14 [16]) and one instance of greed (14,9). Further, even for these categories Kearns merely lists the additions without analyzing their significance. See KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 79-82.

<sup>12</sup> For a recent discussion of virtue/character ethics in the Hebrew Bible and ancient Judaism see J. BARTON, *Ethics in Ancient Israel* (Oxford 2014) 157-184.

<sup>13</sup> For more see J. T. FITZGERALD, "Virtue/Vice Lists", *ABD* VI, 857-859.



unique elements of the Latin version are analyzed holistically, a strong emphasis on certain vices and virtues prominent in ethical discussions of late antiquity emerges. In order to explore this, I will examine the presence of the vices of pride, desire (which in subsequent tradition was subdivided into lust and gluttony), and avarice and their corresponding virtues of humility, temperance, and charity. For completeness, I will then briefly consider the relatively minor role played by envy, anger, and sloth. Since the purpose is to assess the distinctive features of the Latin version (even if many of these were already in the Latin's *Vorlage*), this analysis will focus mainly on additions and alterations not found in the surviving Greek manuscripts. After analyzing these themes independently, we will be in a position to synthesize the results to show a general consistency of thinking regarding these vices and their corresponding virtues and a confluence between such thinking and broader trends within the Latin version.

However, any analysis of the Latin version is beset by methodological difficulties stemming from the immensely complicated textual history of the Latin translation. In fact, rather than presenting one critical text (as in Ziegler's critical edition of the Greek), Thiele's edition sorts the readings into nine textforms, which have fluid boundaries<sup>14</sup>. The earliest and best textform is designated K, but unfortunately it is extant only for small portions of the book. The next in importance is that of the Vulgate (V). Because Jerome did not judge Sirach to be canonical he did not make a fresh translation of the book, instead adopting a *Vetus Latina* text originating in North Africa and quite close to readings found in K<sup>15</sup>. Because of its selection by Jerome, this textform is by far the best attested and historically the most influential. For substantial portions of the book it is the only textform to survive. Therefore, due to the antiquity, completeness, and historical importance of the Vulgate, this study will work from V while noting places where other textforms are extant<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 99-146.

<sup>15</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 117-130.

<sup>16</sup> Since Thiele's critical edition covers only chapters 1-24, citations from chapters 25-51 are from the Benedictine critical edition of the Roman Vulgate: *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem, XII: Sapientia Salomonis, Liber Hiesu filii Sirach* (Rome 1964). For citations from chapters 1-24, if no other textform is referenced for a reading, it is because V is the only one extant for the citation. After K and V, the next most important form is D whose primary textual witness is the early 5<sup>th</sup> century Pseudo-Augustine's *Speculum* (THIELE, *Sirach*, 131-134). The other six textforms are I, Z, J, M, A, and S (see THIELE, *Sirach*, 134-146).

## II. Pride and Humility

One of the most distinctive features of the expansions and alterations in the Latin version of Ben Sira is an emphasis on the vice of pride and the virtue of humility. As Kearns noted, this trajectory was already evident in the Greek manuscripts in additions in 3,19; 10,21; 22,8; and 26,26b<sup>17</sup>, but curiously none of these four expansions is found in the Latin version. Given the predilection for the topic of pride in the Latin version, it is likely that they simply were absent in the Latin's *Vorlage*. The addition in 10,21 places arrogance opposite the fear of the Lord, and the addition in 3,19 affirms that the meek will receive divine revelation. The other two additions observe how the arrogance of children (22,8) or of a wife (26,26b) will bring shame upon the family.

Expansion and alterations concerning pride in the Latin version are found throughout the first half of the book, but especially in the discussion of pride in 10,6-18 (6-22). In Ben Sira's teaching there is a strong correlation between the use of political power and the sin of pride, but the latter is considered foolish because it is antithetical to the created nature of humanity. Pride, Ben Sira goes on to argue, originates from sin and therefore will be punished swiftly and severely by God. The Greek version replicates this teaching in 10,13: "the beginning of pride is sin". However, in GrII (and the Syriac) this relationship is reversed such that pride is now the source of sin: "the beginning of sin is pride". The Latin version, however, absolutizes the reading in GrII by adding the word *omnis*: "the beginning of every sin is pride" (*quoniam initium peccati omnis superbia*)<sup>18</sup>. This change makes pride a "capital vice" which gives rise to every sin, a claim that later played an enormous role in discussions of pride as the source of all sins in Western moral theology<sup>19</sup>. This absolutizing tendency is found in relation to the corresponding virtue of humility in 3,18 (20). There the Greek warns that the greater people's stature, the more they must humble themselves. The Latin appends to this the qualification "in all things" (*in omnibus*)<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 80-81.

<sup>18</sup> So also D. Z: *initium enim peccati omnis superbia*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 367-369.

<sup>19</sup> This claim can be understood in two ways: either pride potentially leads to every kind of sin, or in a more metaphysically sweeping way pride is the ontological cause of every sinful action. See B. GREGORY, "Pride and Sin in Sirach 10:13(15): A Study in the Interdependence of Text and Tradition", *HTR* 108 (2015) 213-234.

<sup>20</sup> One such case can be seen in a discussion of vulnerability to those in power

At the end of 10,13b (15), the Latin agrees with some Lucianic manuscripts in adding “and it will ruin them in the end” (*et subvertet eos in finem*)<sup>21</sup>. The addition in the Lucianic manuscripts may have originated as a doublet of 10,13d; the Latin has possibly jumped from 10,13b to 10,13d. This emphasis on punishment corresponds to two additions in the surrounding context. In 10,10 (11) the Latin prefaces the observation that a king can die overnight, which implies a swiftness of judgment, with the claim that “all power is short lived” (*omnis potentatus brevis vita*). Likewise, after the claim in 10,17 (20) that God has made some nations wither away and eradicated their memory from the earth, the Latin duplicates the second half of the verse but changes the referent to the proud: “God has destroyed the memory of the proud” (*perdidit deus memoriam superborum*)<sup>22</sup>. Following this the Latin adds a contrasting statement: “and allows to remain the memory of the humble in mind” (*et reliquit memoriam humilium sensu*)<sup>23</sup>. The overall effect of these changes in Sirach 10 is to heighten the importance of pride while also adding greater emphasis to the inability of the proud and powerful to escape divine judgment. For those who are arrogant, the loss of any lasting memory of their greatness would be a particularly acute and fitting punishment.

In several places the Latin introduces pride into the thought of a passage. For example, in 4,9 the Greek exhorts the reader to deliver the wronged from the wrongdoer. However, in place of “wrongdoer” (ἁδικούντος) the Latin has “the proud” (*superbi*), which implies that oppressors are prideful. Similarly, in 13,22 (26) the Greek notes that when a rich person speaks “improper things” (ἁπόρητα) others do not judge him negatively. The Latin translates “improper things” with “prideful things” (*superba*), which was likely prompted by the mention of the “humble person” in the immediate context. In relation to

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in Sirach 13 where a minority of manuscripts add to 13,7 (8) the admonition to be humble before God and to wait on God’s help (*humiliare deo et expecta manu eius*). See THIELE, *Sirach*, 419.

<sup>21</sup> Z lacks this addition. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 370; cf. ZIEGLER, *Sirach*, 170.

<sup>22</sup> K: *perdidit deus memoriam superborum*; D: *perdidit dominus memoriam superborum*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 373.

<sup>23</sup> Similarly, D; strangely K inserts a negation: *et non relinquit memoriam humilium*. A minority of V manuscripts also attest a doublet involving pride in 21,4 (5). Prior to the claim that the house of the arrogant will be uprooted, some manuscripts read *et domus quae nimie* [or *nimum* or *nimis*] *locuples est adnubilabitur superbia* (“and the house which is excessively rich is desolated by pride”). See THIELE, *Sirach*, 586.

the following verse this change makes “prideful things” the opposite of the “wise things” spoken by the poor person. Elsewhere, in discussions of pride notions of dishonesty are added to correlate pride with lying (10,8; 15,7). A minor case occurs in 13,1 in which the Latin simply makes the dimension of pride more explicit <sup>24</sup>. While the Greek states that the one who associates with the proud will be like him, the Latin says that the one who associates with the proud will exhibit pride (*qui communicaverit superbo inducet superbiam*) <sup>25</sup>.

In a discussion of divine mercy the Greek observes that God has seen and understood that humanity’s ruin is grievous, and this prompts God to forgive (18,12 [10-11]). The Latin contains two additions here. First, the verbs “see” and “understand” are separated and, perhaps under the influence of 6,5, a reference to pride is inserted in reference to the first: “[God] has seen the presumption of their heart that it is evil and has understood their ruin that it is calamitous” (*vidit praesumptionem cordis illorum quoniam mala est et cognovit subversionem illorum quoniam nequa est*). In the context of this passage this has the effect of making presumption an innate quality of humanity, which is implicitly connected with their mortality; but this also prompts a compassionate response from God. In the next verse the statement that for this reason God shows mercy is followed in the Latin with “and shows them the path of justice” (*et ostendit illis viam aequitatis*). This supplement gives God’s mercy specific content in terms of correcting humanity’s behavior and implies that the path of justice/righteousness is the remedy for presumption (cf. the Latin of 4,9).

In sum, references to pride emerge in some critical places in Ben Sira, especially in the discussion of pride and power in Sirach 10. Taken collectively, these alterations and additions build on Ben Sira’s own teaching, but they also increase the importance of the role and danger of pride in the moral life of human beings, viewing it as more constitutive of human existence, and yet also as something that prompts God to intervene either to correct it or to punish it.

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<sup>24</sup> Another possible case is 23,8. There the Greek states that “by his lips a sinner is overtaken / and the reviler and the proud stumble by them”. For the first colon some GrII manuscripts read “by his foolishness (ἐπὶ ματαιῳ) a sinner is overtaken”, probably under the influence of the Decalogue (see LXX of Exod 20,7; Deut 5,11; cf. Ps 23,4). Yet, the Latin reads, “by his vainglory a sinner is caught” (*in vanitate sua adprehendetur peccator*; J does not contain *in vanitate sua*). However, the use of *vanitas* may simply reflect the reading in some GrII witnesses, as in Pss 61,10; 77,33; 138,20. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 642.

<sup>25</sup> D: *qui communicat superbo induet superbiam*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 415.

### III. Desire/Passion and Temperance (Self-Control)

The virtue of temperance connotes self-control, restraint, and moderation. It primarily relates to the body and its appetites, especially in regard to sexuality and the consumption of food and drink. The vices that are its opposites are lust and gluttony (greed is sometimes included, but it is discussed in the next section). Condemnations of sexual immorality and drunkenness can be found throughout the Hebrew Bible and especially in the wisdom literature (e.g. Exod 20,14; Job 31,1; Prov 6,32; 23,21.27; Qoh 10,17). These values are also emphasized in Ben Sira's book (6,2-4; 9,1-9; 18,30 – 19,3; 23,16-27; 31,12-31) and are slightly enhanced in the expanded Greek version. Prior to 18,30, "Do not follow your desires and restrain yourself from your passions", some GrII manuscripts contain the title, "On Temperance of the Soul". A few verses later, in 19,3 a Lucianic witness (ms 743) and Clement of Alexandria witness to an addition that the destruction of the person who visits prostitutes will serve as an example for others<sup>26</sup>. Further, between 19,5a and 6b, which warn against indulging in gossip, a group of Lucianic manuscripts contains an additional bicolon: "The one who resists pleasures crowns his life. The one who controls (his) tongue will live without strife" (19,5b-6a). Bussino shows that this bicolon develops notions found in Prov 21,17.23; Sir 18,32; 31,10; 32,18; and 37,29-30. In particular, the relationship between self-control in speech and sexuality is a notable feature of Ben Sira's book (cf. 5,9 – 6,4; 18,19 – 19,17; 22,27 – 23,27)<sup>27</sup>.

The danger of illicit desire and the importance of temperance are developed more extensively in the Latin version. An example of a general alteration in the Latin advocating self-restraint is found in 30,23 (24). In this verse the Greek advocates distracting oneself to drive sorrow away and attain a degree of comfort in life, a piece of advice likely influenced by Epicureanism<sup>28</sup>. The Latin, however, radically reworks this notion of "self-deception": "have pity on your soul by pleasing God and restrain yourself and contain your heart in his holiness and drive away sadness far from you" (*miserere animae tuae*

<sup>26</sup> ZIEGLER, *Sirach*, 211.

<sup>27</sup> BUSSINO, *Greek Additions*, 280-281. Notably the topic of speech ethics is one of the most common in the Greek and Latin expansions; although not found in classical considerations of virtue and vice, it does intersect at times with issues of prudence, self-control, and honesty. See KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 80-81.

<sup>28</sup> P. HOLLOWAY, "'Beguile your soul' (Sir xiv 16; xxx 23): An Epicurean Theme in Ben Sira", *VT* 58 (2008) 219-234.

*placens Deo et contine et congrega cor tuum in sanctitate eius et tristitiam longe expelle a te*)<sup>29</sup>. Here, the idea of self-deception is shifted to self-pity and modified with the concepts of pleasing God and self-control. Likewise, the Greek's reference to comfort is reoriented towards the holiness of self-discipline<sup>30</sup>.

In the passage discussed above in relation to GrII, the Latin also contains the title "On Temperance of the Soul" (*de continentia animae*)<sup>31</sup> prior to 18,30 and the elaboration of 19,3 in manuscript 743 and Clement of Alexandria. The bicolon found in 19,5b-6a is not found in the Latin, but this may be because it was missing from the Latin's *Vorlage*. However, a few verses earlier in 19,2 the Latin adds to the statement that wine and women lead the intelligent astray a further warning that they will even test the prudent (+ *et arguent* [or *arguet*] *sensatos*)<sup>32</sup>.

The most significant additions related to desire and self-control are clustered in passages concerning sexual morality and the consumption of wine. On the issue of sexual morality there are two passages with clusters of additions in the Latin. First, in 9,1-9 (1-12) Ben Sira discusses caution in relating to various kinds of women. Although the instruction opens with a reference to wives, the instruction quickly transitions to a discussion of women who are off-limits for the male student. In 9,4 the Latin makes the admonition more restrictive<sup>33</sup>. The advice to avoid spending time with a female performer is expanded to a prohibition not to listen to her either (+ *nec audias illam*), presumably because this could be the first step in a process of seduction<sup>34</sup>. In antiquity the potential seductiveness of a woman's singing voice was recognized by both Jews (*b. Berachot* 24a) and Greeks (note the myth of the Sirens)<sup>35</sup>. This heightening of a prohibition occurs in 9,6 as

<sup>29</sup> *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, XII, 280.

<sup>30</sup> Other places where the Latin adds general notions of restraint and abstinence from sin are 3,3 (4) and 3,29 (31-32). These are the only three instances of self-control listed in KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 75.

<sup>31</sup> Z lacks this title. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 530.

<sup>32</sup> D: *et arguunt sensatos*. M lacks this addition. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 539. Regarding this addition, compare Theognis 499-502.

<sup>33</sup> Similarly, in 9,9 (12) the warning against dining with another man's wife is expanded to prohibit reclining with her, but this addition is also found in Clement of Alexandria, and so it likely reflects an expansion already in the Latin's Greek *Vorlage*. See ZIEGLER, *Sirach*, 166.

<sup>34</sup> So also D. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 341.

<sup>35</sup> My thanks to Gary Anderson for drawing my attention to this motif.

well. In the first colon the Greek's admonition for the student not to give himself to prostitutes is qualified with "at all" (*in nullo*). In the parallel line, 9,6b, the consequence for such sin is heightened as well; the warning that such behavior will destroy the student's inheritance is expanded by the Latin to include the destruction of the person as well as his inheritance (*ne perdas te et hereditatem tuam*)<sup>36</sup>.

The most conspicuous addition to 9,1-9 (1-12), however, occurs in 9,8-9 (8-12). The Greek of 9,8c-9b reads, "By the beauty of a woman many are led astray; and from this desire flares up like fire. // Do not sit with a married woman at all (or 'together'); and do not participate with her in banquets involving wine". However, the Latin includes a long addition (= 9,10-11) between these two bicola: "Every woman who is a prostitute will be trampled as excrement on the road. By admiring the beauty of another's wife many have become reprobate, for her conversation ignites like fire" (*omnis mulier quae est fornicaria quasi stercus in via conculcatur speciem mulieris alienae multi admirati reprobi facti sunt conloquium enim illius quasi ignis exardescit*)<sup>37</sup>. Based on the wording this addition appears to have been generated from the reference to a woman's beauty in v. 8c (cf. 25,21 [28]), the temptation of another's wife in v. 9a, and the reference to lust as burning like fire in v. 8d. The disparaging comment about a prostitute is vaguely similar to the sentiment of 26,22a, which is part of a long addition in GrII. It should be noted that the Latin contains an absolutizing dimension with "every" (*omnis*), a common tendency in the additions. In sum, the alterations to 9,1-9 (1-12) by the Latin show an increased concern for the danger of lust and the need for increased vigilance in self-control.

Similar concerns emerge in the changes to 23,16-27 (21-38) in the Latin. This passage, which closes the first half of the book, discusses the danger of passion and the correspondingly severe divine judgment on sexual immorality. The Latin version alters this passage in four ways. First, three additions strengthen the idea that even though sexual sin is done in private, it cannot escape the notice of God. A substantial addition at the beginning of 23,19 (27) claims that the sinner's fear blinds him to the reality that God sees everything (+ *et non intelligent*

<sup>36</sup> So also D. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 343.

<sup>37</sup> This addition is also attested in D but with some minor variations: *omnis mulier quae est varia quasi stercus in via conculcatur speciem alienae mulieris multi mirati reprobate sunt conloquium enim eius quasi ignis exardet*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 345-346.



*quoniam omnia videt oculus eius quoniam expellit a se timorem dei huiusmodi hominis*)<sup>38</sup>. Immediately after this, the Greek states that God's eyes are 10,000 times brighter than the sun, perceiving all human actions no matter where they occur. Borrowing from 42,18a, the Latin interprets the Greek's "into hidden places" as referring to both the depths of the abyss (i.e. a most inaccessible place) and the inner most recesses of the human heart (+ *profundum abyssi et hominum corda*)<sup>39</sup>. The "innermost recesses of the human heart" would naturally include the sinner's inner dialogue immediately preceding in vv. 18-19 (25-27) such that God not only perceives the immoral person's actions but also his faulty reasoning. This motif of God's perception of all human actions is found extensively in the alterations and expansions in the Latin version (see 7,5.12; 14,22 [20]; 15,19 [18]; 16,20; 18,10; 34,15; 36,19 [22])<sup>40</sup>.

Corresponding to these alterations, a second way the Latin alters this passage is by intensifying the threats of punishment. At the end of 23,16 (21) the Latin adds destruction (+ *et perditionem*) to the threat of wrath<sup>41</sup>. In 23,21 (30-31) the social consequences of such sin is accented. To the idea of being punished publicly, the Latin adds the comment that he will be driven away like a young horse (+ *quasi pullus equinus fugabitur*) and the observation that he will be shamed in front of everyone because he failed to understand the fear of God (+ *et erit dedecus omnibus quod non intellexerit timorem dei*)<sup>42</sup>. While the latter appears to borrow from 1,30, the former probably draws upon the traditional association of wild horses with lust (cf. Jer 5,8; Ezek 23,20; *I Enoch* 86,4)<sup>43</sup>. In other contexts as well, the Latin reflects an increased emphasis on retribution (e.g. 3,29 [32]; 4,13 [14]; 5,14 [17]) and the importance of the fear of God (e.g. 2,1.6; 7,19 [21]; 16,3; 19,17 [18]; 25,12 [15]; 28,7 [8]; 37,12 [15]; 49,4 [6])<sup>44</sup>. Third, the Latin absolutizes these assurances of punishment for adulterers by adding "every" (*omnis*) to the descriptions of both faithless husbands who rationalize their behavior (23,18 [25]; so also M) and unfaithful

<sup>38</sup> This addition is missing from J. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 661-662.

<sup>39</sup> In the next verse, 23,20 (29) the Latin also adds that God sees all things (*respicit omnia*), a Greek form of which is also found in the Lucianic ms 743. See ZIEGLER, *Sirach*, 235.

<sup>40</sup> LEGRAND, "La version latine", 226.

<sup>41</sup> This addition is missing in J. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 655.

<sup>42</sup> M: *et erit dedecus quod non intellexerit timorem dei*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 666.

<sup>43</sup> My thanks to Karina Hogan for this observation.

<sup>44</sup> For other examples see KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 68-69, 83-88.

wives (23,22 [32]). Finally, in the description of the faithless husband in 23,18 (25) the Latin also alters the Greek to reflect the idea that vice is inherently detrimental. Whereas the Greek has the adulterer saying “in his soul”, “Who will see me?”, the Latin introduces the idea that such a person in effect has contempt for his own soul (*contemnens in animam suam et dicens*)<sup>45</sup>. In conclusion, many of the same trends seen in 9,1-9 (1-12) are also evident here in 23,16-27 (21-38). There is an attempt to elevate the importance of the issue by accenting both God’s certainty to see and judge and the potential consequences of sexual sin.

A second topic on which the Latin develops Ben Sira’s teaching regarding temperance is the drinking of wine. The connection between wine and sexual temptation was noted in 18,30 – 19,3 as well as 9,9, both of which attracted additions in the Latin version. Not surprisingly, several additions are also found in the discussion of eating and drinking in 31,12 – 32,13 (32,17). In 31,27-28 (32-37) the Latin introduces three commendations of sobriety. To the statement that wine taken in moderation is the essence of life the Latin adds “you shall be sober” (*eris sobrius*). Likewise, to the statement that wine was created for humans to enjoy the Latin adds “and from the beginning not to make them drunk” (*non in ebrietate ab initio*). Finally, the Latin adds that moderation in drinking is beneficial to soul and body (*sanitas est et corpori et animae*)<sup>46</sup>. Similarly, a few verses later in 32,6 (8) the Greek praises good wine, but the Latin modifies this to include “moderate” [i.e. not too strong] (*in iucundo et moderato vino*)<sup>47</sup>. Conversely, the Latin makes an interesting interpretive move in 31,27 (33). Whereas the Greek has τίς ζωὴ ἐλασσουμένῳ οἴνῳ, probably to be understood as “What is life to one who lacks wine?”, the Latin interprets this dative participle as modifying “life” (so also the Lucianic manuscripts except ms 248: ἐλασσουμένη): “What is life which is diminished by wine?” (*quae est vita quae minuitur vino*)<sup>48</sup>. This alters the sense of the rhetorical question to warn that wine can be harmful to the quality of life.

In sum, in the Latin version the references to desire and self-control are more developed than GrII’s general affirmation of self-control and its harsh judgment of the man who visits prostitutes. While the Latin likewise contains general affirmations of restraint, it also has

<sup>45</sup> M: *contemnens et dicens in anima sua*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 658.

<sup>46</sup> *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, XII, 285.

<sup>47</sup> *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, XII, 287.

<sup>48</sup> *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, XII, 285.

more specific alterations concerning sexual relations and wine. More than in the discussion of pride, there is a greater concern for restricting behavior to avoid temptation. In comparison to the Greek text, the Latin calls for greater caution and vigilance regarding women and wine, absolutizes various prohibitions and the applicability of the teaching, and consistently elevates the consequences of succumbing to desire. God's perception and punishment of these sins is strengthened, but the Latin also emphasizes the social consequences of sins of desire and the damage such sins do to one's own soul.

#### IV. Avarice/Greed and Charity

The vice of greed is a relatively minor theme in Ben Sira's book, appearing explicitly only in the discussion of the proper use of wealth in 14,3-10. However, in his discussion of banquet etiquette in 31,12-15 (cf. 37,29) the related vice of gluttony is condemned. On the other hand, the corresponding virtue of generosity, especially to the poor and to one's friends, is much more prominent in Ben Sira's book (e.g. 3,30 – 4,10; 7,10; 12,1-6; 14,11-19; 17,22; 29,1-20; 35,3-4; 40,17.24). The vice of greed, however, is the subject of an addition after 10,8 in GrII (found in Lucianic manuscripts and in the Syro-Hexapla):

For there is no one more wicked than the lover of money  
because such a person makes commerce even with his own soul.

This bicolon was likely prompted by the Greek's addition of "money" to the causes of imperialistic war in 10,8b<sup>49</sup> and reflects general condemnations of avarice as among the most serious vices, if not the most serious (cf. *T. Judah* 18,3; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil.* 6.50; *Sib. Or.* 3,235; Pseudo-Phocylides 42; Philo, *Flaccus* 60; 1 Tim 6,10). The word for "lover of money", φιλάργυρος, is rare in biblical literature, appearing elsewhere only in the similarly severe claim about avarice in 1 Tim 6,10, but also in the vice list in 4 Macc 1,26. The second line makes a word-play on the idea of commerce to highlight the self-destructive nature of vice<sup>50</sup>. While the condemnation of avarice in absolute terms and the characterization of it as self-destructive find reflections in the moral literature of late antiquity, they also conform to general trends toward absolutizing in the expanded Greek text<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> See ZIEGLER, *Sirach*, 169.

<sup>50</sup> BUSSINO, *Greek Additions*, 108-112.

<sup>51</sup> KEARNS, *Expanded Text*, 64-65.

The Latin also contains this addition concerning avarice, but places it after the rhetorical question, “How can dust and ashes be proud?,” in 10,9: “there is nothing more evil than to love money for he puts up for sale even his own soul” (*nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam hic enim et animam suam venalem habet*)<sup>52</sup>. However, before this rhetorical question, the Latin also contains a doublet of the first part of this addition: “but there is nothing more wicked than avarice” (*avaro autem nihil est scelestius*)<sup>53</sup>. In the larger context, this strongly correlates pride with covetousness and implies that the unjust use of imperial power is motivated by the love of money and emboldened by pride to carry out the seizure of wealth. This addition creates an interesting relationship with the claim that pride is the source of every sin in 10,13 (15). A synchronic reading of 10,6-18 in the Latin suggests that, while pride underlies every sin, when it is coordinated with power it allows the desire for money to take action in the form of imperial oppression and violence. Even if avarice is traced to some inflection of pride, it may still be judged to be the most wicked instantiation of pride<sup>54</sup>.

In the discussion of miserliness in 14,3-10 the Latin reflects two changes significant for the vice of greed. In 14,3a the Greek states that “riches are not fitting for a small-minded person”. The word “small-minded” (μικρολόγος) is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX but has the sense of pettiness, especially with money, and thus it is a fortuitous approximation of the Hebrew לב קטן (literally, “small of heart”) and an appropriate synonym for “miser” in the next line<sup>55</sup>. The Latin, however, shifts the meaning slightly by translating this term with *cupido et tenaci*, “covetous and stingy”<sup>56</sup>. Since *tenaci* is an understandable translation of μικρολόγος, “covetous” is the supplemental term. While the Latin shows a tendency to translate one Greek term with

<sup>52</sup> D: *nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam tales enim etiam animam suam venundant*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 363.

<sup>53</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 361-362.

<sup>54</sup> However, it was possible for ancient thinkers to hold differing views on the relative severity of vices, depending on the rhetorical contexts. For example, at different places, sometimes within the same work, Philo claims that different vices lead to (every) other vice: pride (*Flacc.* 91); drunkenness (*Flacc.* 136); desire (*Spec.* IV, 84-85); lying (*Contempl.* 39); and greed (*Flacc.* 60). See GREGORY, “Pride and Sin”, 225-227.

<sup>55</sup> See C. WAGNER, *Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesus Sirach* (BZAW 282; Berlin 1999) 250.

<sup>56</sup> D: *cupido tenaci*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 430.

two synonyms throughout the book, the introduction of “covetous” may have arisen under the influence of 14,9<sup>57</sup>. Nevertheless, the addition of *cupido* widens the image in 14,3 from someone who is reluctant to part with money to a person who is also greedy for more. Near the end of this pericope, in 14,9, the Greek observes that “the eye of the greedy person (πλεονέκτου ὀφθαλμός) is not satisfied with his portion and evil injustice dries up the soul”. The Latin, however, omits the copula, reduces “evil injustice” to one word<sup>58</sup>, and reads it as modifying “portion”: “the eye of the greedy person is insatiable in his portion of iniquity” (*insatiabilis oculus cupidi in parte iniquitatis*). The Latin then fills out “dries up the soul” with an additional reference to insatiability: “he will not be satisfied until he has consumed his own soul” (*non satiabitur donec consummet [or consumat] arefaciens animam suam*)<sup>59</sup>. These changes produce a different sense for the verse, shifting the purview from the meal table to that of a metaphorical “portion of iniquity” and then attributing the consumption of the soul to the greedy person himself. This results in a characterization of greed as a vice that is prone to expand exponentially to the point of self-destruction.

The Latin version also counteracts the temptation to avarice through additions to 5,1. This verse introduces a lesson on the foolishness of presuming that wealth can insulate one from divine judgment (5,1-8). While the Greek advises the reader not to depend on wealth or to say “it is enough for me”, the Latin makes two changes. First, the Latin assumes that not all wealth is bad by modifying wealth with “unjust” (*possessiones iniquas*) such that the object of improper dependence is morally compromised wealth rather than wealth in general. Second, at the end of the verse, the Latin adds an explanation to the imperative, “Do not say ‘I have enough’”: “for it will be of no use on the day of vengeance and calamity” (*nihil enim proderit in tempore vindicate et obductionis*)<sup>60</sup>. This addition reinforces the view that the

<sup>57</sup> Other places where the Latin translates one Greek word with two synonyms are 1,9.30 (40); 6,9; 8,8 (10); 10,25 (28); 11,4; 15,3; 16,1 (15,22); 16,19.24; 21,11 (12); 22,24 (30); 23,6.16 (21); 24,8 (12); 25,10 (13); 26,8 (11); 29,5 (6).6 (9); 33,2; 46,5 (6); 47,22 (24).

<sup>58</sup> This phenomenon is less frequent than the translation of one word with two synonyms, but see 10,18 (22) and 45,18 (22); cf. 6,27 (28).

<sup>59</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 433-434.

<sup>60</sup> So also D. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 270. Notably, at the end of this passage in 5,8 (10) V (but not D) adds *et vindicate* to *in die obductionis*, creating an inclusio with the addition in 5,1. See THIELE, *Sirach* 279.

accumulation of money is ultimately futile if it is not accompanied by moral uprightness. By reminding the reader of a coming judgment the Latin neutralizes the short-term desire for wealth.

As noted above, while Ben Sira discusses greed (or miserliness) in only a few places, he is a strong advocate of generosity, which is the virtue that counteracts avarice. A similar ratio manifests itself in the additions and alterations in the Latin version, which shows two tendencies in advocating the virtue of generosity. First, the Latin focuses attention on the internal disposition of the giver. At the end of the first passage dealing with proper treatment of the poor in 4,1-10, the Latin adds to the exhortation to incline one's ear to the poor the imperative "and give what you owe" (*et redde debitum tuum*)<sup>61</sup>. The idea that the poor are owed assistance may have been derived from Prov 3,27, but it is implied in Ben Sira's statements that God requires people to help the poor (4,1-3; 29,9)<sup>62</sup>. By incorporating this conviction here in 4,8 the Latin excludes the possibility of treating generosity as optional and appeals to the reader's sense of moral obligation. In the following verse, the Latin modifies "do not be faint-hearted" with "in your soul" (*non acide feras in anima tua*), thus accenting the importance of a disposition that favors the poor<sup>63</sup>. Further, in 7,21 (23) the Latin exhorts the reader to generosity by adding "do not leave him needy" (*neque inopem derelinquas illum*) to the imperative to grant the servant his freedom<sup>64</sup>.

The second tendency regarding generosity in the Latin consists of reinforcing its external rewards. In the small pericope on acts of charity in 7,32-36 the Greek commands the reader, "stretch out your hand

<sup>61</sup> So also D. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 251-252.

<sup>62</sup> In the MT Prov 3,27 is about honesty in financial dealings: "Do not withhold good from the one to whom it is due". However, in the LXX, as Michael V. Fox observes, "G's phrasing, especially in translating לִבְעָלִי ("its possessor") as ἐνδεῆς ("needy"), turns the proverb into an exhortation to almsgiving". See M. FOX, *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary* (The Hebrew Bible 1; Atlanta, GA 2015) 104.

<sup>63</sup> So also D, but lacking in J. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 252. This addition is also found in an Origenic witness (ZIEGLER, *Sirach*, 143).

<sup>64</sup> So also I; D: *nec inopem relinquas illum*; S: *et inopem ne relinquas eum*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 318. Further, at the beginning of the verse the Greek has a 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperative with "soul" as the subject: "let your soul love a wise servant", but the Latin matches the Hebrew in framing the admonition according to the golden rule: "let a wise servant be loved as your (own) soul" (*servus sensatus dilectus quasi anima tua*). D: *servus sensatus dilectus sit tibi quasi anima tua*; I: *servum sensatum dilige sicut animam tuam*. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 317.

to the poor that your blessing may be accomplished” (7,32 [36]). To the dependent clause the Latin adds the idea of atonement: “that your expiation and blessing may be accomplished” (*ut perficiatur propitiatio et benedictio tua*)<sup>65</sup>. This addition aligns this verse with Ben Sira’s own conviction that generosity can atone for sin (3,14-15 [15-17].30 [33]; 35,1-5). The benefits of generosity are likewise emphasized in 12,2 within another passage on generosity (12,1-6). The Greek reads, “Do good to the godly and you will find repayment, if not from him then (ἀλλά) from the Most High”. The Latin however, modifies “repayment” with “great” (*retributionem magnam*) and emphasizes the certainty of repayment by translating ἀλλά with *certe*: “if not from him, assuredly from the Lord” (*si non ab ipso certe a domino*)<sup>66</sup>. These two changes reinforce the benefits of generosity through an elaboration of the extent and reliability of its reward.

In sum, the Latin version builds upon the idea in GrII that avarice is the most serious sin and does significant damage to one’s own soul. Greed is correlated both with miserliness and with arrogant imperial aggressiveness. In order to dissuade the reader from avarice, the Latin version reminds the reader of the coming judgment in order to diminish the appeal of accumulated wealth. It also repeatedly encourages generosity by accenting its obligation, its desirability, and its rewards.

## V. Other Vices: Envy, Anger, Sloth

Some virtues and vices that were common in late antique discussions of ethics play a lesser role in the Latin version. While envy, anger, and sloth do appear in the book, they are rather *ad hoc* and not major themes like the other three vices.

The vice of envy appears in a GrII addition at 20,14 where the envious person who gives under obligation is placed in parallel with the fool who gives but is looking for a sevenfold payback<sup>67</sup>. While the Latin does not contain this addition, it does include additional references to envy in a few places<sup>68</sup>. In 9,11 (16), the Greek warns the

<sup>65</sup> So also D. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 325.

<sup>66</sup> So also D. See THIELE, *Sirach*, 402.

<sup>67</sup> This addition appears in the Lucianic recension and ms 672. See BUSSINO, *Greek Additions*, 314-318.

<sup>68</sup> It is noteworthy that in the discussion of miserliness in 14,3-10 the Latin renders the idiom for a miser, “the evil eye”, by retaining the construction of the idiom but making explicit the element of envy: *oculus lividi* (14,8; cf. 14,3). In the next



student not to envy the glory of a sinner, but the Latin expands this to “glory and wealth” (*gloriam et opes*)<sup>69</sup>. Next, in the discussion of table etiquette the Greek advises the student to avoid reaching for anything he sees out of a sense of decorum (31,14 [16]). The Latin, however, introduces the idea of envy: “do not stretch out your hand and be humiliated with impure envy” (*et invidia contaminatus obrubescas*)<sup>70</sup>. Further, in 6,1 the Latin (and John of Damascus) adds the notion of envy to the statement that the sinner who is double-tongued will inherit reproach and shame and then absolutizes the statement: “so every sinner who is envious and double-tongued” (*et omnis peccator invidus et bilinguis*)<sup>71</sup>.

Anger also plays a minor role in the expansions in the Latin version. In 20,1 (19,28) the Greek observes that there is a kind of rebuke that is not timely, but the Latin expands this line to read, “there is a dishonest rebuke in the anger of an abusive person and there is a decision that is not approved to be good” (*est correptio mendax in ira contumeliosi et est indicium [or iudicium] quod non probatur esse bonum*)<sup>72</sup>. This addition claims that anger predisposes a person to rebuke someone falsely. It is worth noting that, as with envy, this vice is correlated with dishonesty as well. In fact, the notion of dishonesty is likewise correlated with the vice of pride through additions to 10,8 and 15,7. Further, in Ben Sira’s discussion of anger in 27,22 – 28,11 (27,25 – 28,13) there are several small additions but most have little effect on the meaning of the passage. However, in 28,5 the Greek asks rhetorically if the person who cherishes anger can be forgiven for his own sins, but the Latin adds another rhetorical question based on 28,3b: “does he request forgiveness from God?” (*et propitiationem petit a Deo*)<sup>73</sup>. The Latin therefore shifts the sense from claiming that the angry, vengeful person does not receive forgiveness to the claim that he does not even seek forgiveness. This shift in meaning may be to avoid the implication that God would refuse to forgive a repentant person, especially since elsewhere the Latin version accents the grace

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verse, the similar idiom is rendered with *oculus cupidi*, “the lustful eye” (14,9). In 18,18 the Latin translator appears to have struggled with the Greek and therefore replaced the idea of the “grudging giver” with *indisciplinati*, “undisciplined”.

<sup>69</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 349.

<sup>70</sup> *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, XII, 283.

<sup>71</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 284; ZIEGLER, *Sirach*, 150.

<sup>72</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 559-560.

<sup>73</sup> *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, XII, 269.

and mercy of God (cf. the additions of *et misertus est paenitentibus* in 12,3; *et gloriaberis in miserationibus illius* in 17,28 [17,27] [so also D], and *ut tibi remittitur* in 21,1 [D: *ut tibi demittantur*])<sup>74</sup>.

The vice of sloth appears in the additions to the Latin version just once. In 18,27 the Greek observes that the wise person is cautious and guards against wrongdoing (πλημμελείας). The Latin translates the word “wrongdoing” with *inertia*, “sloth”. Not only is this a peculiar translation, but it is also the only instance of *inertia* in the entire Vulgate. This makes it difficult to speculate on its appearance in this verse, but perhaps the fact that the context emphasizes the swiftness with which circumstances can change and God’s judgment can arrive impressed upon the translator a concern for diligence and the avoidance of sloth.

#### VI. Synthesis: Vice and Virtue in the Latin Version

The vices that are addressed in the expansions and alterations in the Latin version of Sirach are of an uneven character. Some of this can be attributed to the relative extent of their treatment in the book of Sirach itself. The topics of pride and humility, sexuality, and the use of wealth are all extensively discussed in Ben Sira’s work, and many, but not all, of the expansions on these topics appear as integrated within the discussion of each topic within the book. Other topics such as cowardice, envy, and sloth are much more neglected by Ben Sira, and this corresponds to their scarce treatment in the expansions. Conversely, however, the vice of anger receives substantial treatment by Ben Sira but plays a minor role in the Latin expansions. In addition, the topic of speech ethics is one of the most prominent topics in both the Greek and Latin expansions, though it is only tangentially connected to classic discussions of vice and virtue (i.e. through the motif of self-control in speaking).

These considerations suggest that there was not a conscious systematic attempt to impress a paradigm of “capital vices” upon the book or even an attempt consciously to revise the book in the direction of virtue/vice ethics; rather, the increased emphasis on certain vices within various portions of the book, appearing rather unevenly and in many cases without obvious rationale for their placement, likely reflects the organic process in which a book dealing with manifold ethical topics was mediated through translation and transmission in an

<sup>74</sup> THIELE, *Sirach*, 404, 506, 582.

environment where thinking on vices and virtues was important. This gradual, piecemeal, and organic process reflects the cultural environment of late antiquity in which the importance of certain vices and virtues and their relationships to one another was on the rise in various degrees and in various constellations within Judaism and Christianity<sup>75</sup>.

Nevertheless, while the presence of expansions and alterations concerning vices and their corresponding virtues does not appear to originate from a systematic revision of the book, there is still a certain amount of theological consistency in the ways that these topics are treated within the Latin version. For each vice the Latin version reflects a heightened appreciation of its danger and seriousness and shows a concerted effort to dissuade the reader from indulging in these vices. First, the danger and seriousness of these vices can be seen in various strategies. In the case of pride and avarice the strategy in GrII to elevate pride as the source of sin and avarice as the most pernicious sin is maintained, while the former is absolutized to be the source of every sin. The tendency to absolutize statements is characteristic of both GrII and the Latin expansions, and in discussions of desire it is especially employed to strengthen prohibitions and place protective restrictions on dealing with women. In addition, the Latin version shows an attempt to coordinate vices with one another and to set these in opposition to virtues. For example, pride, envy, and anger are coordinated with lying, while pride and avarice are coordinated with power and oppression, and avarice is connected with its close relation, miserliness. Conversely, changes in the Latin version set pride in opposition to wisdom and justice, while lust is set in opposition to the fear of God and to pleasing God.

Second, for each of the vices the Latin version shows a consistency of approach in dissuading the reader from these vices and encouraging the practice of their corresponding virtues. This concern is accomplished primarily through reinforcing the consequences of these sins. For pride, desire, and avarice divine judgment is accented. In contrast, the Latin version emphasizes the rewards that can be expected for the virtues of humility, self-control, and generosity. These statements, which both intensify recompense and assure its certainty, participate

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<sup>75</sup> It should be noted, however, that there is nothing distinctly Christian in the Latin version of Ben Sira, even if the Latin translation itself was likely undertaken by a Christian in North Africa. See GILBERT, "Vetus Latina", 1-9.

in a larger pattern within the Latin version of heightening God's omniscience and omnipotence. Complementing the emphasis on divine punishment, the Latin version assures the reader that pride, desire, and envy all entail the social punishment of shame and ignominy. The final facet of the consequences of vice is seen in the assurance that lust, drunkenness, and avarice are self-destructive in damaging either one's soul or the overall quality of one's life. The damage that sin does to the perpetrator's own soul is a classic feature of virtue ethics, but it is also found more widely in the expansions and alterations on a variety of topics in the Latin version of Ben Sira (e.g. 14,4; 19,6; 20,8; 37,21-22 [24-25]; cf. 18,33 [=GrII]) <sup>76</sup>.

Therefore, considered synchronically, the Latin version of Ben Sira differs from the Hebrew and Greek versions in a greater emphasis on certain vices in ways that both elevate their importance and also integrate them into the larger contours of the moral theology of the book. Their content, amount, and distribution suggest that their piecemeal production arose through attempts to integrate the teaching already found in the book of Ben Sira with the increasing importance of virtue/vice thinking in late antiquity <sup>77</sup>.

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### Summary

Beginning in the Second Temple period some Jewish literature begins to reflect an increased influence from Hellenistic conceptions of virtue and vice. This paper analyzes the expansions and alterations found in the Latin version of Ben Sira to show how the vices of pride, desire, and avarice are elevated in importance and integrated into the larger contours of the moral theology of the book. Their content, amount, and distribution suggest that their piecemeal production arose from attempts to integrate the virtue/vice thinking prominent in late antiquity into the teaching already found in the Book of Sirach.

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<sup>76</sup> See R. DEVETTERE, *Introduction to Virtue Ethics: Insights of the Ancient Greeks* (Washington, D.C. 2002) 13-39.

<sup>77</sup> My thanks to Jeremy Corley who kindly read and provided numerous insightful comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

## Reexamining Q<sup>2</sup>: Son of God Christology in Q's Redactional Layer

As is well known, the synoptic sayings source Q is a document of which we possess no physical copy, but which has nonetheless been tentatively reconstructed from the material shared by the New Testament Gospels of Matthew and Luke according to the two-source hypothesis. While it seems hardly necessary to present a detailed analysis of the synoptic problem here, due to the highly technical nature of my inquiry into Q's text, its hypothetical status must be briefly addressed. It would be quite unreasonable to deny that status in the absence of physical evidence. At the same time, the mere absence of a physical copy should hardly undermine the validity of the hypothesis unless significant faults should be exhibited and alternate solutions proven to be superior. The debate concerning Q's existence therefore hinges on the solution to the synoptic problem which demands an explanation for the obvious literary interdependence of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Here Q competes with fellow hypotheses, viz. alternate solutions attempting to account for the synoptic problem by avoiding Q yet similarly relying on synoptic literary clues not corroborated by external evidence. Q's main challenge stems in particular from those solutions which attempt to explain the synoptic interdependence by appealing to Matthew's or Luke's direct use of the other. These theories, as well as the Griesbach hypothesis which proposes that Matthew and Luke were used by Mark, are inevitably fraught with considerable problems well documented in contemporary New Testament scholarship<sup>1</sup>. Because of those problems and despite the challenge presented by the so-called minor agreements, the two-source hypothesis whereby Matthew and Luke each employed the Gospel of Mark and Q as their main documentary sources has become the consensus of New Testament studies. While that consensus remains not unanimous, it has been adopted far beyond the field of specifically Q studies, has received wide acceptance among the leading Matthean

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the weaknesses of the Griesbach and Farrer-Goulder hypotheses, as well as of the more complex solutions proposed by Léon Vaganay and Marie-Émile Boismard, see J.S. KLOPPENBORG VERBIN, *Excavating Q. The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh 2000) 38-50.

and Lucan scholars, and is a presupposition for this investigation <sup>2</sup>.

This essay, of course, as its very title already suggests, goes beyond the mere notion of Q's existence, approaching it as a text that can be reconstructed. Here, the inference has been made since B.H. Streeter that the third evangelist tends to follow the order of Mark's Gospel more faithfully, in which respect he differs from Matthew <sup>3</sup>. Even more importantly, Luke tends not to conflate Mark and Q, whereas Matthew is quite fond of precisely that. Finally, there is actually a considerable degree of agreement between Matthew's and Luke's sequencing of the double tradition, rendering the reconstruction of at least portions of Q fairly secure <sup>4</sup>. Combined, these inferences not only deliver an important principle for the reconstruction of Q's sequence but also help account for some of the stranger sequences and transitions in Luke's Gospel by attributing them to the evangelist's source. Based on these and other pertinent considerations, the task of reconstructing Q was undertaken by the International Q Project (henceforth IQP) and published as *The Critical Edition of Q* <sup>5</sup>. To be sure, owing to the case-by-case nature of the task and the limited number of scholars involved, the *Critical Edition of Q* probably does not represent the final say in Q's reconstruction, and indeed in this essay a few minor amendments will be proposed. One certainly hopes that current and future generations of scholars will have the opportunity to contribute to the project. Even so, the foundation laid by IQP represents a quantum leap in New Testament research, enabling the study of Q as a fully fledged document to which one may apply the tools of literary criticism. As such, it allows for the study of Q's compositional history and redactional layers, with conclusions ranging from the origins of the Judeo-Christian community behind the document to its depiction of the historical Jesus.

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<sup>2</sup> Thus F. BOVON, *Luke 1. A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2002) 6-8; J.A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX* (AB 28; Garden City, NY 1981) 63-81; U. LUZ, *Matthew 1-7. A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2007) 18-22.

<sup>3</sup> B.H. STREETER, "On the Original Order of Q", *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*. (ed. W. SANDAY) (Oxford 1911) 141-164.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed analysis of the scholarship and methodology behind the reconstruction of Q's order, see J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *Formation of Q. Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Minneapolis, MN 1987) 64-80.

<sup>5</sup> J.M. ROBINSON – P. HOFFMANN – J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *The Critical Edition of Q. Synopsis including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2000).

Q's value to New Testament studies indeed has much to do with the use of several prominent Christological titles by the document's authors. Among those titles, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and its correlative ὁ ἐρχόμενος have received much attention in contemporary New Testament scholarship. In this essay I focus on two other designations of Jesus in Q: ὁ υἱὸς (τοῦ θεοῦ) and κύριος. The former title can be reconstructed with certainty only in the thanksgiving of Jesus (Q 10,21-22, ὁ υἱὸς) and in the temptation story (Q 4,1-13, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ), two textual units that have proven difficult to stratify with respect to Q's compositional layers <sup>6</sup>. Meanwhile, the title κύριος is employed in Q not only Christologically but also with reference to YHWH, creating a certain degree of confusion and leading some scholars to conclude that when used of Jesus it should be translated only as "master" <sup>7</sup>. In what follows I put forth the case that the titles ὁ υἱὸς (τοῦ θεοῦ) and κύριος are closely related and form a part of the author's Christological apologetic in the wake of the Q group's failed Galilean mission. To support this hypothesis I first analyze the two texts describing Jesus as God's υἱός (10,21-22; 4,1-13), showing that they form a part of the same compositional layer and Christological framework. After that, I examine the document's first and most extensive presentation of Jesus as κύριος (6,20b-49) for compatibility with the above framework. The ultimate goal of this endeavor will be to attempt to illuminate an important intermediate stage in the formation of Q's early Christology.

### I. Q 10,21-22 and the Christology of the Q<sup>2</sup> Stratum

It is necessary to begin with an assessment of the present consensus regarding Q's compositional history, which remains to a considerable degree based on John S. Kloppenborg's research. This compositional theory of Q was first articulated in 1987 in *Formation of Q*. According to that theory, Q consisted of three compositional stages. The earliest, formative stage (designated Q<sup>1</sup>) was characterized as a compilation of

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<sup>6</sup> The Q origin of the baptism legend (3,21-22) remains disputed. If reconstructed as featuring the title υἱός (a hypothesis far from certain), it would further strengthen the case made in this essay. However, owing to the difficult nature of the text's reconstruction and the high degree of conjecture it involves, I have opted against engaging the baptism legend. For the reconstruction of Q 3,21-22 with the title υἱός, see ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 18-21.

<sup>7</sup> IQP translates κύριος as "master" in 6,46; 7,6; 9,59; 12,42-46; 13,25; 14,21; 19,12-26. ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 94, 108, 154, 366-375, 408, 442, 524-555.



several sapiential speeches, the largest of which was the Q sermon 6,20b-49. Indeed, the sermon was viewed as essentially programmatic for the rest of Q<sup>1</sup>, an assessment which will be argued against here. The succeeding main redactional stratum (designated Q<sup>2</sup>) presumably brought apocalyptic coloring to the document, identifying Jesus with the coming Son of Man and engaging the movement's opposition through various woes and judgment day rhetoric. Finally, in the secondary and smaller redactional stratum Q<sup>3</sup>, initially limited by Kloppenborg to just 4,1-13, a shift toward biography was identified. Perhaps realizing that the said shift seemed curiously undeveloped by the document's authors, Kloppenborg subsequently recast Q<sup>3</sup> as a pro-nomian redaction by a nervous scribe<sup>8</sup>.

While the conclusions reached in this essay depart from Kloppenborg's model on several occasions, they do not stem from a different methodological approach. As the ensuing analysis will show, the method employed in my investigation is largely identical to the one in *Formation of Q*. Namely, I examine two individual Q units, 4,1-13 and 6,20b-49, for a compositional and tradition-historical compatibility with Kloppenborg's Q<sup>2</sup>. To do that, I demonstrate the manner in which 4,1-13 and 6,20b-49 reflect the Christology and *Sitz im Leben* of 10,21-22 and of a number of other texts assigned to Q<sup>2</sup>. This essay therefore builds on Kloppenborg's research and compositional model<sup>9</sup>. Of course, certain individual aspects of Kloppenborg's work are inevitably approached critically. The major changes proposed include the aforementioned reevaluation of the compositional origin of 4,1-13 and 6,20b-49, as well as a case against the existence of a separate Q<sup>3</sup> stratum.

One caveat is necessary at this point. In my view, literary-critical evidence strongly suggests that Q's compositional layers were not simply collections of sayings preserved by Christian scribes. On the contrary, Q<sup>1</sup> and Q<sup>2</sup> exhibit cohesive theological agendas which appear

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<sup>8</sup> Kloppenborg's Q<sup>1</sup> consists of the following sapiential sub-collections: (1) 6,20b-49; (2) 9,57-62 + 10,2-11.16; (3) 11,2-4.9-13; (4) 12,2-7.11-12; (5) 12,22-34; (6) 13,24; 14,26-27; 17,33; 14,34-35. Q<sup>2</sup> consists of several major blocks of material and smaller interpolations into the earlier Q<sup>1</sup> sub-collections. The major Q<sup>2</sup> blocks are: 3,7-9.16-17; 7,1-10.18-28; (16,16); 7,31-35; 11,14-52; 12,39-59; 17,23-37; 19,12-17; 22,28-30. The smaller Q<sup>2</sup> interpolations are: 6,23c (subsequently expanded by Kloppenborg to 6,22-23); 10,12-15.21-24; 12,8-9.10; 13,25-30.34-35; 14,16-24. Q<sup>3</sup> consists of (1) the Temptation Story 4,1-13; (2) two brief "pro-nomian" glosses 11,42c; 16,17. KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 100-101, 102-170, 171-245, 246-262; KLOPPENBORG VERBIN, *Excavating Q*, 152-153, 212-213.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 98-99.

to reflect the changing circumstance of the community. Consequently, in this essay I take as my point of departure the premise that every textual unit presently found in the document was employed by a Q<sup>1</sup> or Q<sup>2</sup> author to advance a specific compositional objective and reflects a particular *Sitz im Leben*. Determining the relation of those units to the historical Jesus is not the task of this essay and must be undertaken elsewhere<sup>10</sup>. The tradition-historical conclusions reached here will be limited to the history of the Judeo-Christian group which I regard as responsible for the composition of Q<sup>1</sup> and Q<sup>2</sup>.

I now turn to the Christology of 10,21-22, its portrayal of Jesus as God's unique Son and its relation to the polemical framework of the Q<sup>2</sup> compositional layer. In Kloppenborg's research this text was taken to represent a separate Christological category which one may call "Sophia Christology". Here, Kloppenborg's work was influenced by several early publications by James M. Robinson<sup>11</sup>. Of special importance are two essays by Robinson: "ΛΟΓΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ: On the *Gattung* of Q" (1964), and "Jesus as Sophos and Sophia: Wisdom Tradition and the Gospels" (1975). Robinson's argument can be summarized as follows: (a) in Q's formative material Jesus was conceptualized as a sage, (b) in the redactional layers of Q Jesus became redefined as the coming Son of Man, (c) these contrasting Christological images were unified in Q's final literary framework by the identification of Jesus as also God's Wisdom, Sophia<sup>12</sup>. The resultant phenomenon, Sophia Christology, acted for Robinson as a necessary conceptual link between the apocalyptic Son of Man of the redactional layers of Q and the sapiential Jesus of Q<sup>1</sup>.

In *Formation of Q*, the above conclusions were affirmed by Kloppenborg<sup>13</sup>. Of particular relevance to this essay is the presumable association of Jesus with Sophia. The text in which Robinson and Kloppenborg saw this development take place is Q 10,21-22, which describes Jesus as ὁ υἱός:

<sup>10</sup> After all, Kloppenborg himself cautions that the stratification of Q's units should not be automatically taken as an indication of their genesis. KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 244-245.

<sup>11</sup> J.M. ROBINSON, "Building Blocks in the Social History of Q", *The Sayings Gospel Q*. Collected Essays by James M. Robinson (eds. C. HEIL – J. VERHEYDEN) (BETL 189; Leuven 2005) 508.

<sup>12</sup> ROBINSON, "ΛΟΓΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ: On the *Gattung* of Q", *The Sayings Gospel Q*, 37, 73-74; ROBINSON, "Jesus as Sophos and Sophia: Wisdom Tradition and the Gospels", *The Sayings Gospel Q*, 123-126, 130.

<sup>13</sup> KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 27-34, 102-170, 171-245, 317-328.

(Q 10,21) At that time he said: I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for you hid these things from sages and the learned, and disclosed them to children. Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do.

(Q 10,22) Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father, and no one knows the Son except the Father, nor does anyone know the Father except the Son, and to whomever the Son chooses to reveal him <sup>14</sup>.

The reader will notice that in this text Q's author does not identify Jesus as Sophia. In fact, that identification is not found anywhere in Q. Instead, in 10,21-22 the emphasis is repeatedly placed on Jesus' divine sonship. However, Sophia is mentioned by Jesus on two other occasions in Q, in 7,35 and 11,49-51, rendering Robinson's interpretation of 10,21-22 as containing Sophia Christology plausible. That interpretation was seconded by Kloppenborg who similarly to Robinson drew a sharp distinction between Q's sapiential and apocalyptic material, and therefore he may have perceived an opposition between the Christological images of Q<sup>1</sup> and Q<sup>2</sup>:

While it refrains from explicitly identifying the Son with Sophia, 10,22 draws upon the mythologoumena associated with Sophia which represent her as God's intimate and as the sole mediatrix of knowledge of the divine.

[In Q<sup>2</sup>] further indications of the functional unity of Jesus with Sophia are introduced. Q 7,35 represents Jesus and John as Sophia's children; 11,49-51a places an oracle of Sophia in Jesus' mouth and then (11,51b) has Jesus resume the oracle in his own words; 13,34-35 appears to be another Sophia saying; and most dramatically, 10,22 draws upon the mythologoumena of Sophia for its description of the relationship of the Father to the Son <sup>15</sup>.

Here we notice that Kloppenborg situates 10,21-22 in Q<sup>2</sup>. One observes, however, that elsewhere in the same compositional layer John and Jesus the Son of Man are both depicted as Sophia's children (7,31-35) <sup>16</sup>. Kloppenborg's Q<sup>2</sup> therefore must answer the following question: could the depiction of Jesus have evolved from Sophia's envoy (7,31-35) to that of Sophia the sender (10,21-22) in the same compositional layer <sup>17</sup>? That seems rather unlikely. A possible way of

<sup>14</sup> ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 190-193.

<sup>15</sup> KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 199, 319-320 (my addition in square brackets).

<sup>16</sup> See ROBINSON, "Jesus as Sophos and Sophia", 122-123.

<sup>17</sup> See esp. KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 110-112.

accounting for this problem would be by moving 10,21-22 to a subsequent compositional layer, Q<sup>3</sup> <sup>18</sup>. But Kloppenborg himself has countered that solution, rightly in my view, by highlighting that 10,21-22 is compatible with Q<sup>2</sup> on polemical grounds <sup>19</sup>. And so we are faced with the following paradox: 10,21-22 is actually compatible with Q<sup>2</sup> except for its presumed use of Sophia Christology, a concept that does not rely on an explicit identification. As we will see, this imposition of Sophia’s mythologoumena on 10,21-22, while certainly not implausible, obscures the Christological category more immediately engaged by this text.

To properly understand the Christology of 10,21-22 in relation to the rest of the document we must now examine its immediate context and the intended function in Q’s “mission speech” section. In Q’s reconstructed text, 10,21-22 belongs to a complex sequence of material beginning in 10,2 and extending through 10,24. In that sequence it is possible to identify the presence of both compositional layers. Q<sup>1</sup> material consists of the mission instruction proper, viz. the material addressed to the missionaries in 10,2-12, and 10,16. At the time of the Q<sup>2</sup> compositional stage that material appears to have been edited by means of two redactional interpolations:

Q 10,2-24 – the “mission speech” section	
Q <sup>1</sup>	Q <sup>2</sup>
10,2-12	
10,16	10,13-15
10,23-24	10,21-22

As the above table shows, the first Q<sup>2</sup> interpolation (10,13-15) separated the Q<sup>1</sup> warning, now found in 10,16, from its original context in 10,2-12 in order to accuse three specific Galilean towns: Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum <sup>20</sup>. It seems probable that by the time of Q<sup>2</sup>’s

<sup>18</sup> This is precisely what I attempted to do in my doctoral dissertation. I have since come to regard that solution as unsatisfactory, especially as I began to question the existence of a Q<sup>3</sup> compositional layer.

<sup>19</sup> KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 201-203.

<sup>20</sup> KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 195-196. Although Kloppenborg regards 10,12 as a redactional construction, I am skeptical of its Q<sup>2</sup> origin; form-critically 10,12

composition the Q group had suffered rejection in those towns. The unannounced shift in form, tone and address from the missionaries (10,2-12.16) to the group's Galilean opposition (10,13-15) signals the presence of a redactional hand quite clearly. The speech then shifts back to the missionaries and Q<sup>1</sup> material in 10,16. Following 10,16 we encounter the second Q<sup>2</sup> interpolation, the thanksgiving 10,21-22 in which Jesus can be seen expressing gratitude not only for the Q group's privileged status as the sole recipients of God's revelation but more importantly for the group's failure to convince their opposition. Finally, a beatitude blessing those who witness the presently unfolding events (10,23-24) concludes the speech; this closing unit could have originated in either compositional layer <sup>21</sup>. After this point, the reconstructed Q text moves to the Lord's Prayer (11,2-4), leaving the themes of the mission and its failure behind and thereby marking the beginning of a new section.

It seems clear enough that the apologetic outlook of 10,21-22 is not compatible with the instruction found in 10,2-12.16. In Q<sup>1</sup>, the author appeared to have anticipated a swift mission (10,4) which was to act as the precursor of the eschatological harvest in that the group's recipients would effectively decide their own fate by either accepting or rejecting the missionaries (10,2.5-12) <sup>22</sup>. In 10,21-22, however, the group's apparent rejection in Galilee receives a rather unexpected legitimization: the opposition was never expected to understand and accept the mission's proclamation. Instead, the Galilean failure (10,12-15) is interpreted as a predetermined outcome, a part of God's plan. According to that logic, the mission's objective (to offer its recipients a choice) never stood a chance — a direct contradiction of the Q<sup>1</sup> outlook.

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clearly belongs with the preceding material rather than with the woes. A more detailed discussion of its compositional origin falls outside the scope of this essay and must be undertaken elsewhere.

<sup>21</sup> Because of its obviously secondary attachment to 10,21-22, it is extremely difficult to determine whether 10,23-24 belongs with (Q<sup>1</sup>) 10,2-11.16, or with (Q<sup>2</sup>) 10,12-15.21-22. A good argument could be made either way. Q 10,23-24 does not engage the motif of the mission's rejection which underscores the previous Q<sup>2</sup> interpolation in 10,12-15. Instead the beatitude employs a positive, optimistic tone similar to the one detected in the Q<sup>1</sup> mission instruction (10,2-11.16). For that reason I lean toward retaining 10,23-24 in Q<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> D.C. ALLISON, JR., *The Intertextual Jesus*. Scripture in Q (Harrisburg, PA 2000) 145-147; A.D. JACOBSON, *The First Gospel*. An Introduction to Q (Sonoma, CA 1992) 143-148, esp. 147-148; KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 236.

The Christological implications of this development are of considerable significance for our present discussion. In Q<sup>2</sup> only those chosen by the Son (10,22d) can understand and accept the group's proclamation. As the compositional history of the mission speech indicates, this view likely reflects the group's defensive outlook in the wake of their Galilean rejection. But the Q<sup>2</sup> author's apologetic extended beyond ostracizing his opponents. Since the primary reason for the group's rejection was likely the problematic nature of their initial proclamation about Jesus — especially in Galilee where the memory of the historical Jesus may still have been recent — some Christological adjustment was also necessary. By presenting Jesus as God's uniquely privileged υἱός the Q<sup>2</sup> author was able to legitimize the group's proclamation in a strikingly effective new way. Not only were the teachings of Jesus reasserted as the ultimate path to salvation, but in his capacity as the Son he was shown to be subordinate to YHWH. The divine status of Jesus among his followers was thereby made more compatible with the group's traditionally Jewish roots. Just as importantly, by virtue of the overarching concept of divine sonship all of the group's Christological categories could now be unified under the single umbrella of God's Son, the Messiah.

## II. Son of God Christology in 4,1-13

The connections between 10,21-22 and the temptation story 4,1-13 are polemical and Christological. With respect to the former, I read 4,1-13 and especially the climactic temptation sequence 4,9-12 as directed in a rather damning fashion against the priestly establishment of the Second Temple period<sup>23</sup>. The main arguments supporting this view include: (a) the critique of the temple elsewhere in the document (Q<sup>2</sup> redactional texts 11,49-51; 13,34-35); (b) the imagery of the devil as present in the temple<sup>24</sup>; (c) the devil's use of the liturgical Psalm 91 (LXX Psalm 90), citing from a section containing a priestly response<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> That would be the opposite of Kloppenborg's Q<sup>3</sup> hypothesis in which 4,1-13 is seen as advocating a view of the temple as "now (again) a holy place." KLOPPENBORG VERBIN, *Excavating Q*, 212.

<sup>24</sup> The strangeness of this imagery has largely proven elusive, although one wonders (along with Kloppenborg!) why an altitude based miracle required the Jerusalem temple as its setting. KLOPPENBORG VERBIN, *Excavating Q*, 212.

<sup>25</sup> As noted by Erich Zenger, Psalm 91 (LXX Psalm 90) appears to have a liturgical background. F-L. HOSSFELD – E. ZENGER, *Psalms 2* (Minneapolis, MN 2005) 428-429. The voice representing YHWH in vv. 1-13 and promising protection on his behalf represents the temple's priestly personnel.

Certainly it does not seem coincidental that the devil should address Jesus by citing from that psalm and from that “priestly speech” while being present, of all places, in the temple, which was supposed to serve as a “shelter” from demonic forces <sup>26</sup>. This critique of the temple’s priestly personnel as apparently controlled by the devil fits rather well into the polemical outlook of 10,21-22 where an opposition group designated σοφοὶ καὶ συνετοί is similarly left outside the circle of God’s chosen children.

As we have seen, in the document’s mission speech section, 10,21-22 continued the Q<sup>2</sup> author’s polemic against Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum begun in 10,13-15. It seems doubtful, however, that the Galilean towns would be understood by the author as the primary location of Israel’s sages. It is probably better to read σοφοὶ καὶ συνετοί in 10,21 as comprising the Q group’s entire spectrum of perceived Jewish opposition, which in 4,1-13 is shown to include the Second Temple priesthood. If that inference is correct, then according to the author of Q<sup>2</sup> not only the movement’s initial Galilean mission but indeed any outreach to the various contemporary forms of Judaism were at least for the time being destined to fail.

Turning to the Christological aspect of the temptation story, 4,1-13 marks the only compositional unit in Q outside 10,21-22 where Jesus is presented as υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (4,3.9) <sup>27</sup>. Above I have suggested that in 10,21-22 this title provides the ultimate validation for the historical Jesus as the Messiah. Messianic categories are encountered across Q<sup>2</sup>: throughout the document’s redactional layer, Jesus is frequently portrayed as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (6,22; 7,34; 11,30) <sup>28</sup> with its correlative ὁ ἐρχόμενος (3,16; 7,19; 13,35) and as κύριος (6,46; 7,6; 12,42-46; 13,25; 14,21; 19,12-26). The concept of divine sonship can be detected in the background of each of those claims. In particular, it is the only Christological category that can explain how the title κύριος could be shared by both Jesus and ὙΗΩΗ (who is described as κύριος in 4,8.12; 10,2.21; 13,35; 16,13). Because that important category is made explicit only in 4,1-13 and 10,21-22, it

<sup>26</sup> In the LXX the psalm’s “priestly speech” section notably includes a promise of assistance against demonic powers in v. 6: ἀπὸ πράγματος διαπορευομένου ἐν σκότει, ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ.

<sup>27</sup> See n. 6 above.

<sup>28</sup> These are the Q<sup>2</sup> instances (in Kloppenborg’s compositional model) which clearly identify Jesus with the Son of Man. Q 12,8.10; 12,40; 17,24.26.30 are ambiguous and, in my view, do not feature that identification.



seems logical to coordinate both compositional units in Q<sup>2</sup>'s Christological framework.

It is necessary at this point to address Kloppenborg's remaining "pro-nomian" Q<sup>3</sup> texts. Aside from the Torah's use in 4,1-13, which, as I hope to have shown, certainly does not appear to be the main purpose of that text, Kloppenborg's pro-nomian Q<sup>3</sup> hypothesis rests on the premise of a zealous scribe adding two glosses to presumably dangerous statements in 11,42c and 16,17. As shown by Ulrich Luz, however, Q 11,42c may not be quite as abnormal as Kloppenborg sees it <sup>29</sup>. The reading of Q 16,17 as secondary with respect to 16,16 is also questionable. Here, it seems more likely that the author of 16,16-17 creates an intentional *inclusio* (employing νόμος in 16,16a and 16,17b) to show that despite the struggle met by John and Jesus, viz. the kingdom's most recent envoys, God's law ultimately endures unchanged. If these arguments are correct, this leaves no further Q<sup>3</sup> texts in Kloppenborg's compositional model and consequently no reason for that stratum to exist. It therefore appears best to retain 11,42c in the Q<sup>2</sup> compositional layer (where it belongs with the judgment speech in 11,39b-52) and 16,16-17 in Q<sup>1</sup> (where it belongs with the block of sayings in 16,13-17,2).

### III. Son of God Christology in 6,20b-49

I now turn to the document's most elaborate portrayal of Jesus as κύριος, the sermon in 6,20b-49. In the remainder of this essay it will be shown that this portrayal relies on the concept of divine sonship expressed in the Q<sup>2</sup> texts 4,1-13 and 10,21-22. Along the way, I will also highlight certain form-critical and polemical features which 6,20b-49 shares with Q<sup>2</sup>.

While I second IQP's reconstruction of the sequence of 6,20b-49 <sup>30</sup>, I arrange the Q sermon's structure differently: (1) an exordium consisting of the beatitudes and a command to love enemies (6,20b-28), (2) the *Imitatio Dei* section (6,35c-d; 6,29-36), (3) an accusation speech against a judging disciple (6,37-42b), (4) a parable illustrating the lesson of the accusation speech (6,43-45), (5) another accusation and a related parable illustrating the consequences of not following Jesus' commands (6,46-49). The opening section is programmatic; it

<sup>29</sup> KLOPPENBORG VERBIN, *Excavating Q*, 212; Cf. U. LUZ, *Matthew 21-28. A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2005) 122-123.

<sup>30</sup> ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 44-101.

serves to ground the ensuing instruction in the Q group's reality at the time of the sermon's composition in a context of persecution. The second section employs the *Imitatio Dei* principle to appeal to a non-violent response in these difficult circumstances. The fact that this discussion was necessary suggests that some of the group's members may have struggled to come up with an adequate response to their persecution. Beginning in 6,37 the subject matter shifts to a different type of a challenge: the accusation speech and its associated parable address a specific conflict among the group's members. Finally, the sermon's closing section summarizes the apparent group's collective failure to follow the example of Jesus by means of a general accusation (6,46) and a judgment parable (6,47-49).

It is well-known that, following Kloppenborg's allocation of 6,20b-49 to Q<sup>1</sup>, the sermon became an important part of the most recent quest for the historical Jesus. The primary consequence of this development for our discussion was the considerable suppression of the sermon's Christology in those strands of contemporary New Testament scholarship which interpreted Kloppenborg's Q<sup>1</sup> stratum and its image of the historical Jesus as sapiential. Specifically, Q 6,22-23 was struck from the sermon as presumably a Q<sup>2</sup> redactional interpolation, and the Christological title κύριε in 6,46 was interpreted to mean "master" as opposed to "Lord"<sup>31</sup>. I will address those matters first, showing that they may not have taken all of the existing evidence into full account. Following that, I will highlight the Christological connections between 6,20b-49 and the Q<sup>2</sup> stratum.

I begin with 6,22-23. The problem posed by its existence to the notion of a strictly sapiential Q<sup>1</sup> layer is obvious: the fourth beatitude clearly identifies Jesus with the apocalyptic ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου:

(Q 6,22) Blessed are you when they insult and persecute you, and say every kind of evil against you ἕνεκεν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

(Q 6,23) Be glad and exult, for vast is your reward in heaven. For this is how they persecuted the prophets who were before you<sup>32</sup>.

Eventually, the entire beatitude Q 6,22-23 became assigned by Kloppenborg and a number of others to Q's redaction<sup>33</sup>. But the argu-

<sup>31</sup> See n. 7 above.

<sup>32</sup> ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 50-51.

<sup>33</sup> D.R. CATCHPOLE, *The Quest for Q* (Edinburgh 1993) 91; JACOBSON, *First Gospel*, 99-101, 108; KLOPPENBORG VERBIN, *Excavating Q*, 202; C.M. TUCKETT, *Q and the History of Early Christianity. Studies on Q* (Edinburgh 1996) 179.

ment for viewing 6,22-23 as secondary on the grounds that it breaks the pattern of the preceding beatitudes has been convincingly refuted by Dale C. Allison, Jr. In his detailed analysis Allison listed a number of comparable phenomena in ancient Jewish literature where the last member in a sequence employs a different, usually longer and more elaborate format<sup>34</sup>. Pertinent evidence cited by Allison includes the following lists of beatitudes: 4Q525; *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 5-6; 2 *Enoch* 42,6-14. While this evidence strongly suggests that the literary technique employed in those beatitude collections and in Q 6,20b-23 forms a rhetorical structure, it has been refuted by those scholars who, primarily on thematic grounds, continue to see 6,22-23 as secondary and not as an intrinsic part of the Q sermon<sup>35</sup>. IQP's reluctance to translate κύριος in 6,46 as "Lord" stems from the same academic *Tendenz*, no doubt reflecting James M. Robinson's view that "in the oldest layer of Q Jesus claimed no title, and seemed not to have been involved in our Christological reflections at all"<sup>36</sup>. It is apparent that IQP's consistent rendering of κύριος as "master" in Christological contexts seeks to distinguish it from the title's use when applied to YHWH (4,1-13; 10,2-22; 13,34-35; 16,13). But this interpretive approach betrays the following assumptions: (a) that in 6,46; 7,6; 9,59 Q's author chose to designate Jesus as κύριος, the title elsewhere reserved for YHWH, when only a respectful form of address was implied<sup>37</sup>; (b) that although in 12,42-46; 13,25-27; 14,21; 19,12-26 κύριος is clearly synonymous with the coming Son of Man<sup>38</sup>, Q's author did not intend to identify the latter as "Lord" in a similar sense to YHWH, and the use of the title κύριος was once again entirely coincidental<sup>39</sup>; (c) that Q's readers were expected to discern whether κύριος meant "Lord" or

<sup>34</sup> D.C. ALLISON, JR., *The Jesus Tradition in Q* (Harrisburg, PA 1997) 96-103

<sup>35</sup> Allison's arguments have been endorsed very recently in S.J. JOSEPH, *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. A Judaic Approach to Q* (WUNT II/333; Tübingen 2012) 161-162 (with a footnote to Allison).

<sup>36</sup> J.M. ROBINSON, "Theological Autobiography", *The Sayings Gospel Q*, 30.

<sup>37</sup> ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 94-95, 108-111, 154-155. One wonders, of course, why Q's author did not choose the term "teacher" if the respectful address was all that was implied.

<sup>38</sup> Pertinent evidence includes: the placement of Q 12,42-46 immediately adjacent to a Son of Man judgment warning (12,39-40) and followed by further judgment sayings spoken in the first person (12,49-59); Q 13,27-35 containing judgment sayings and an association of Jesus with ὁ ἐρχόμενος (13,35), a title which in Q is used synonymously with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

<sup>39</sup> ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 366-375, 408-411, 432-447, 532-533.

“master/teacher” or “master of a slave” in each individual instance. Aside from the fact that these assumptions needlessly complicate the use of the title κύριος in Q, they also meet with the following problem: a closer inspection of the instances in which YHWH is designated as κύριος reveals that Jesus is depicted as a subordinate figure in virtually every one of them (4,1-13; 10,2-22; 13,34-35), with the exception of the aphoristic 16,13. Moreover, in two of those instances Jesus is presented as YHWH’s υἱός (4,1-13; 10,21-22), and in the third one as ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου (13,35) whereby the precise nature of his subordination to YHWH is specified. This does not look like the work of a sloppy author who painted in broad strokes and utilized the title κύριος liberally, leaving it up to the reader to sort out the various nuances. Rather, the author’s use of κύριος to designate both YHWH and Jesus suggests a carefully calibrated depiction of a transfer of authority. At a minimum, it is impossible to read 10,21-22 other than as delegating the full authority of ὁ κύριος YHWH to ὁ υἱός Jesus, which, of course, makes Jesus κύριος in a quite similar sense of the term.

The sermon’s structure reflects this Christological bracketing (6,22-23; 6,46). One observes a similar dynamic at work here as, on a somewhat smaller scale, in 10,21-22 and 4,1-13. The sermon’s second section (6,35cd; 6,29-36) is framed with two references to the *Imitatio Dei* principle (6,35c-d; 6,36)<sup>40</sup>. Inside that *inclusio* are two originally independent and likely composite units, 6,29-30/Matt 5,41 and 6,31-34<sup>41</sup>. However, this section accounts only for a third of the sermon’s considerable length. It is preceded by 6,20b-28 which as we have seen exhibits a Christological focus and explains the group’s persecution as a consequence of following Jesus the Son of Man. And it is followed by 6,37-49, which in its entirety is concerned with the correct observing of the commands of κύριος Jesus (6,46). The transition from 6,36

<sup>40</sup> Luke’s author combines Q 6,35c-d and 6,36, but Luke 6,32-34 suggests that (a) Luke 6,35a-b is LukeR, (b) that Luke 6,35c-d was relocated by Luke from its original Q position. This is indicated by the fact that Luke 6,35a-b summarizes the preceding Q/Luke 6,32, LukeR 6,33, LukeR 6,34 in that order. Because Q/Luke 6,35c-d, which is a clause, is now attached in the Lukan sermon to a LukeR command this obviously could not have been its Q location. It would thus seem that the original location of the command is following Q 6,27, based on the evidence of Matt 5,43-45.

<sup>41</sup> Matt 5,41, though not preserved by Luke, probably belongs in Q. LUZ, *Matthew 1–7*, 271; ROBINSON – HOFFMANN – KLOPPENBORG, *Critical Edition of Q*, 62-63. For the composite nature of 6,29-36, see KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 173-181 (with reference to other authors).

to 6,37 is particularly instructive. While 6,36 contains a command to imitate the Father, in 6,37-38 the admonition not to judge is grounded in the example of Jesus who is subsequently presented as ὁ διδάσκαλος (6,40) and κύριος (6,46). The sermon's *Imitatio Dei* section (6,35c-d; 6,29-36) therefore is framed with material focused on the imitation of the Son of Man and Lord Jesus (6,20b-28; 6,37-49), with the climactic parable of the two houses depicting what is at stake (6,47-49). This arrangement of the sermon does not seem coincidental and strongly reflects the Q<sup>2</sup> author's depiction of the transfer of authority (outlined in 4,1-13; 10,21-22; 13,34-35) from YHWH to his Son Jesus.

In the light of this Christological arrangement and focus, one is led to question the assessment of the Q sermon as sapiential<sup>42</sup>. Not only does that assessment fail to withstand the above listed literary-critical and Christological considerations, but it also falters on form-critical grounds. Beginning with the admonition not to judge, Q 6,37-42 functions as an accusation speech directed against a group member who is addressed as ὑποκριτὰ in 6,42<sup>43</sup>. Here, even those scholars who are otherwise convinced that 6,20b-49 is sapiential in form have frequently conceded that 6,42, along with some immediately adjacent material, fall outside that alleged pattern<sup>44</sup>. Accusations, of course, do not typically exist in a vacuum, which leads Fitzmyer to correctly identify Luke 6,37-42 as a separate sub-section in the Sermon on the Plain<sup>45</sup>. And while Fitzmyer does not identify the form of that subsection as a trial speech, the comparable speeches in the *Tanakh* and the LXX allow one to further develop his observations<sup>46</sup>. Examples of trial

<sup>42</sup> KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 189.

<sup>43</sup> The inner-community setting of 6,37-42 has been recognized by R. PIPER, *Wisdom in the Q-tradition. The Aphoristic Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge 1989) 42-43.

<sup>44</sup> JACOBSON, *First Gospel*, 103-104; KLOPPENBORG, *Formation*, 185; PIPER, *Wisdom*, 43.

<sup>45</sup> FITZMYER, *Luke I-IX*, 641-643. Luke 6,37-42 follows the sequence of Q 6,37-42, rendering Fitzmyer's observation entirely applicable to the third section of the Q sermon. Q 6,37-42 was subsequently also identified as a compositional unit in PIPER, *Wisdom*, 36-44.

<sup>46</sup> Accusations/accusation speeches belong to the trial genres in Old Testament literature. For definitions see: G.W. COATS, *Exodus 1-18* (FOTL; Grand Rapids, MI 1999) 156, 173-174; S.J. DE VRIES, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (FOTL; Grand Rapids, MI 1989) 436; M.A. SWEENEY, *Isaiah 1-39* (FOTL; Grand Rapids, MI 1996) 512, 541-542. Related forms include: (a) reproof speeches; (b) accusatory questions. For definitions see: M.H. FLOYD, *Minor Prophets* (FOTL; Grand Rapids, MI 2000) II, 648; DE VRIES, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 427.

speeches in ancient Jewish literature include 1 Sam 15,17b-19.22-23; Isa 1,2-8; Jer 2,4-37. As in those examples, Q 6,37-42 features (a) a specification of the offense (Q 6,37-38; cf. 1 Sam 15,17c-19.23a-c; Isa 1,2b; Jer 2,8.13); (b) interrogation and proverbial wisdom implicating the accused party in committing the said offense (Q 6,39-42a; cf. 1 Sam 15,17b.19.22; Isa 1,3.5-6; Jer 2,14.17-18.23a); (c) a direct accusation of the guilty party (Q 6,42b; cf. 1 Sam 15,19; Isa 1,4; Jer 2,20a.23b-24.25b). To this polemical sequence in Q 6,37-42 one would do well to add 6,43-45; the parable of the two trees clearly illustrates the main point of the preceding accusation, namely that a good disciple should speak properly<sup>47</sup>. This means that approximately one third of the sermon (6,37-45) consists of inner-communal polemic probably caused by a conflict within the Q group. The tone and form of this extended sequence, as well as the concluding general accusation and judgment parable 6,46-49, are anything but overwhelmingly sapiential. They do, however, fit in rather well with the Q<sup>2</sup> compositional layer and its polemical framework (which includes at least one other inner-communal judgment parable in 19,12-26).

#### IV. Conclusion: Son of God Christology in Q<sup>2</sup>

The three texts analyzed in this essay (Q 4,1-13; 6,20b-49; 10,21-22) have not heretofore been coordinated in such a way as to espouse a common Christological and polemical agenda. Indeed, in the leading theory of contemporary Q studies, that of John S. Kloppenborg, all three are assigned to separate compositional layers. As I hope to have shown above, however, coordinating these texts in a single stratum results in a stronger Q compositional model. My hypothesis can be summarized as follows: (a) the concept of Jesus' unique sonship rather than Sophia Christology lies behind 10,21-22; (b) the related title ὁ υἱός (τοῦ θεοῦ) found in 4,1-13 and 10,21-22 provides the validation for Jesus as the messianic ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and as κύριος in Q<sup>2</sup>'s Christological framework; (c) the Q sermon 6,20b-49 reflects that framework and therefore also belongs in Q<sup>2</sup>.

This hypothesis, if correct, raises a number of urgent questions of which I will highlight but two. First, with the relocation of 6,20-49 to Q<sup>2</sup>, the document's formative layer loses what has been viewed until now as its most important text. This holds serious implications for the

<sup>47</sup> FITZMYER, *Luke I-IX*, 643.

recent historical Jesus quest which has been above all based on the reading of Kloppenborg's Q<sup>1</sup> as sapiential and on 6,20-49 as its main text. If the case made in this essay indeed stands, renewed attention would need to be paid to the remaining Q<sup>1</sup> material and its image of the historical Jesus. Secondly, my tradition-historical trajectory of the Q group invites the following pressing question: was the Q<sup>2</sup> polemical platform, with Israel's priests and sages seemingly left without access to God's revelation, intended as a warrant for the Gentile mission? Could there be further clues in the document's redactional material to indicate that the Q<sup>2</sup> author shared a similar outlook to Paul whose contemporary he must have been? The answers should shed further light on the tradition-historical trajectory of formative Christianity.

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#### Summary

This essay analyzes three important Christological texts in the reconstructed synoptic sayings source Q: 4,1-13 (the temptation legend), 6,20b-49 (the Q sermon) and 10,21-22 (the thanksgiving of Jesus). According to the current consensus in Q studies, these texts belong to three different compositional strata and reflect different theological concerns. I coordinate them in the document's redactional layer (Q<sup>2</sup>), demonstrating their compatibility on literary-critical and tradition-historical grounds. My hypothesis is that these texts provide the necessary Christological framework for Q<sup>2</sup>'s depiction of Jesus as the messianic Son of Man and Lord by stressing his identity as God's unique Son.



## Faith in Jesus: The Historical Jesus and the Object of Faith

Did Jesus expect to be the object of his followers' faith? And if he did, what self-understanding could justify such an expectation? According to the Gospel of John, Jesus repeatedly called for faith in his person (6,35; 7,38; 11,25-26; 12,44.46; 14,1.12; cf. also 3,15.16; 5,38; 6,29.40; 8,24; 9,35; 12,36; 13,19; 16,9; 17,20), and this call may be understood in light of the exalted claims that the Johannine Jesus also makes for himself (cf. John 14,1). However, the corroborating evidence from the Synoptic tradition is quite sparse, and the majority of scholars have concluded that the Johannine references to Jesus as the object of faith are the result of later Christological development. The historical Jesus, it is maintained, called for faith in God and in the gospel he proclaimed (cf. Mark 1,15; 11,22), not for faith in himself<sup>1</sup>.

In this article, I will reexamine the Synoptic evidence, focusing on the explicit references to faith in Jesus (Mark 9,42//Matt 18,6; Matt 27,42). Following a discussion of their authenticity, the second part of the article analyzes their possible significance in light of Jesus' Jewish background.

My discussion of authenticity appeals to the traditional criteria, especially the criterion of dissimilarity. Recent studies have challenged the value of this criterion, since it is maintained that reliance on this

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<sup>1</sup> R. BULTMANN, *Theology of the New Testament I* (trans. K. GROBEL; London 1952) 9; G. BARTH, "Glaube und Zweifel in den synoptischen Evangelien", *ZTK* 72 (1975) 290-291; J. ZUMSTEIN, *La condition du croyant dans l'Évangile selon Matthieu* (OBO 16; Fribourg 1977) 233; L. GOPPELT, *Theology of the New Testament*. The Ministry of Jesus in Its Theological Significance (trans. J. ALSUP) (Grand Rapids, MI 1981) I, 150-153; R.T. FRANCE, "Faith", *DJG* 223; P. STUHLMACHER, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Grundlegung. Von Jesus zu Paulus (Göttingen 1997) I, 71, 90-92; C.A. EVANS, *Mark 8:27 – 16:20* (WBC 34B; Nashville, TN 2001) 69; J.D.G. DUNN, *Christianity in the Making*. Jesus Remembered (Grand Rapids, MI 2003) I, 501; F. HAHN, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Die Einheit des Neuen Testaments. Thematische Darstellung (Tübingen 2005) I, 458-459; J. NOLLAND, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI 2005) 1198.

Norman Perrin has argued that Jesus' teaching on faith did not specify the object of faith, as his point was to focus on the power of faith itself, N. PERRIN, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (New York 1967) 130-132; similarly M.L. COOK, "The Call to Faith of the Historical Jesus. Questions for the Christian Understanding of Faith", *TS* 9 (1978) 693-694.

criterion would only result in a caricature, an anomalous Jesus, enigmatic to his surroundings and misunderstood by all of his followers<sup>2</sup>. This point is well taken, but this critique of the criterion of dissimilarity applies to its negative use, not to its positive use. While the new trend in Jesus research is to be welcomed for its emphasis on Jesus' Jewishness, it should not lead us to ignore his uniqueness. The criterion of dissimilarity should not be used alone, but a judicious use of this criterion will help us to see the ways in which Jesus stood out with respect to his environment.

My thesis is that the Synoptic evidence is not entirely conclusive, but it is plausible that Jesus did expect his followers to have faith in his person<sup>3</sup>. There are two, not necessarily mutually exclusive ways to account for such an expectation: that Jesus thought of himself as filling the role that in Judaism was reserved for YHWH, or that he saw himself as a Messiah that was also a heavenly character.

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<sup>2</sup> J.P. MEIER, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus. The Roots of the Problem and the Person* (ABRL; New York 1991) I, 172; similarly, M.E. BORING, "The Historical-Critical Method's 'Criteria of Authenticity'. The Beatitudes in Q and Thomas as a Test Case", *Semeia* 44 (1988) 17-21; S.E. PORTER, "How Do We Know What We Think We Know? Methodological Reflections on Jesus Research", *Jesus Research. New Methodologies and Perceptions. The Second Princeton-Prague Symposium on Jesus Research, Princeton 2007* (Princeton-Prague Symposia Series on the Historical Jesus 2; eds. J.H. CHARLESWORTH – B. RHEA – P. POKORNÝ; Grand Rapids, MI 2014) 91-92. Instead, Gerd Theissen and Dagmar Winter have underscored that, as a historical person, Jesus would have fitted into his Jewish environment (*The Quest for the Plausible Jesus. The Question of Criteria* [trans. M.E. BORING; Louisville, KY 2002] 167-171; cf. also A.-J. LEVINE, "Putting Jesus Where He Belongs. The Man from Nazareth in His Jewish World", *PRSt* 27 [2000] 177). Taking a cue from Leander Keck, James Dunn insists that the historical Jesus is the characteristic Jesus, and that elements that are characteristic of the Jesus tradition are likely to be authentic (*A New Perspective on Jesus. What the Quest for the Historical Jesus Missed* [Grand Rapids, MI 2005] 57-78).

<sup>3</sup> The most sustained argument for the view that the historical Jesus called for faith in his own person is found in M.W. YEUNG, *Faith in Jesus and Paul. A Comparison with Special Reference to 'Faith That Can Remove Mountains' and 'Your Faith Has Healed/Saved You'* (WUNT II/147; Tübingen 2002). Yeung focuses on the instances in which Jesus is recorded as saying "your faith has saved you". The present study complements Yeung's work by examining the explicit references to faith in Jesus' person. For a similar view, see also T. SHEARER, "The Concept of 'Faith' in the Synoptic Gospels", *ExpTim* 69 (1957) 6; J. ROLOFF, *Das Kerygma und der irdische Jesus. Historische Motive in den Jesus-Erzählungen der Evangelien* (Göttingen 1970) 153-159; G.E. LADD, *A Theology of the New Testament* (ed. D.A. HAGNER; Grand Rapids, MI 1993) 306; N.T. WRIGHT, *Christian Origins and the Question of God. Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis, MN 1996) II, 263.

## I. Mark 9,42

In the Synoptic Gospels, there is only one saying in which Jesus explicitly makes reference to people believing in him. That is the millstone saying, which is preserved in all three Synoptic Gospels. As it is found in Mark 9,42, the NRSV renders it: "If any of you put a stumbling block before one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be better for you if a great millstone were hung around your neck and you were thrown into the sea".

This is the clearest example of Jesus understanding his own person as the object of his disciples' faith. In most of the other Synoptic sayings in which Jesus calls people to believe, he does not specify the object of their faith. In Mark 1,15 the object is the gospel, and in 11,22 it is God. In Mark 11,23-24 par., Jesus calls his disciples to believe "that what you say will come to pass" and "that you have received ... whatever you ask for in prayer". He also censures the chief priests, the scribes, and the elders for not believing John the Baptist (Mark 11,31 par.), the point being that they did not believe in his message.

When the object is not specified, the sense is often that people believe that Jesus has power and authority to perform a miracle. In the story about the healing of the centurion's son, Jesus tells him that it will happen to him according to his faith (Matt 8,13 par.). The faith the centurion has expressed is a faith that Jesus has authority; in this case that must be understood as an authority to command diseases (Matt 8,8-9 par.). When Jesus heals the two blind men, he responds to them in the same way: "according to your faith let it be done to you" (Matt 9,29). They have also just confessed their faith that Jesus is able to make them see (Matt 9,28). In the stilling of the storm, Jesus rebukes the disciples for their lack of faith (Mark 4,40 par.). This lack of faith can only refer to their assumption that Jesus was not doing anything to help them from perishing (Mark 4,38). They did not anticipate the miracle he would perform. The faith Jesus calls for is to believe that he has power over the forces of nature. In the case of the blind Bartimaeus, he expresses his belief not only that Jesus has miracle-working power, but also that he is the son of David, which may be understood as a messianic title (Mark 10,46-52 par.)<sup>4</sup>.

In some of the miracle-stories, the petitioners' faith appears to go

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<sup>4</sup> See further R. SCHNACKENBURG, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament* (trans. J. HOLLAND-SMITH – W.J. O'HARA; New York 1967) 36-37; J. JEREMIAS, *New Testament Theology* (trans. J. BOWDEN; London 1971) 162-164.

beyond a conviction that a miracle may happen. It reflects a conviction regarding Jesus' person, that he is their benefactor who will deliver them from a debilitating disease, which is to say that he will give life and salvation. A good example might be the haemorrhaging woman's wordless petition, which was commended as an act of faith by Jesus (Mark 5,34 par.). Jesus' exchange with the father of the demon-possessed boy also shows that what is in view is a relationship with Jesus, rather than a strong conviction. When Jesus challenges the man to faith: "[a]ll things can be done for the one who believes", he responds by expressing not his firm conviction but rather the ambiguous nature of his faith: "I believe; help my unbelief!" (Mark 9,23-24). The Matthean Jesus' statements regarding great faith (Matt 8,10; 15,28) and Luke's repeated "your faith has saved you" (7,50; 8,48; 17,19; 18,42) also contribute to this picture. In several passages, in which petitioners approach Jesus (Mark 5,25-34 par., 36 par.; Matt 8,10 par.; Mark 10,52 par.; Luke 17,11-19; Mark 9,23), faith may therefore be understood as confidence in the person of Jesus, as Jürgen Roloff has argued <sup>5</sup>.

If a personal relationship is implicit in some of these sayings, the saying in Mark 9,42 par. makes that idea explicit. The faith in question is faith in Jesus' person, not specifically in his message or in his abilities, but in him. The phrasing is also quite striking, as the Markan rendering of Jesus' words uses the preposition "into" (εἰς) to identify Jesus as the object of faith. This construction is unparalleled in the Synoptic Gospels. Somewhat surprisingly, it only occurs twice in the Pauline corpus (Gal 2,16; Phil 1,29), three times in Acts (Acts 10,43; 14,23; 19,4), and once in 1 Peter (1,8), but it is very common in the Johannine literature, where it occurs 36 times <sup>6</sup>. The construction is sometimes thought to be derived from the Hebrew **הֵאֵמִין בּוֹ**, but that is unlikely, as it is not found in the Septuagint. The Greek construction

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<sup>5</sup> ROLOFF, *Kerygma*, 153-159; similarly A. SCHLATTER, *Der Glaube im Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart <sup>3</sup>1905) 131-135; SHEARER, "Faith", 4; YEUNG, *Faith*, 170-195; O. HOFIUS, "Die Allmacht des Sohnes Gottes und das Gebet des Glaubens. Erwägungen zu Thema und Aussage der Wundererzählung Mk 9,14-29", *ZTK* 101 (2004) 128. Focusing on the context of Mark's Gospel, Thomas Söding reaches a similar conclusion (*Glaube bei Markus*. Glaube an das Evangelium, Gebetsglaube und Wunderglaube im Kontext der markinischen Basileiatheologie und Christologie [SBB 12; Stuttgart 1985] 552).

<sup>6</sup> John 1,12; 2,11.23; 3,16.18(2x).36; 4,39; 6,35.40; 7,5.31.38.39.48; 8,30; 9,35.36; 10,42; 11,25.26.45.48; 12,11.36.37.42.44 (2x).46; 14,1.12; 16,9; 17,20; 1 John 5,10.13.

seems to have been coined by early Christians to describe what was characteristic of Christian faith: the way in which it brings the believer into a relationship with Jesus. To believe “into” means that the believer through faith enters into union with Christ<sup>7</sup>.

## II. Authenticity

Did the historical Jesus speak about faith in this way, as the saying in Mark 9,42 implies? Many scholars answer in the negative. The authenticity of this saying is often doubted, and the Jesus Seminar voted both the Markan and the Matthean versions black. Following Rudolf Bultmann, they consider the saying to be a proverb that has been Christianized by the church. According to the seminar, vindictiveness was not characteristic of Jesus<sup>8</sup>.

Other scholars reach different conclusions<sup>9</sup>. Davies and Allison observe that the combination of the millstone around the neck and the throwing in the sea is not attested elsewhere<sup>10</sup>. Its Palestinian origin is demonstrated by Elliott C. Maloney, who finds that the construction in Mark 9,42 shows clear traces of Semitic influence. The subject, ὃς ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων [εἰς ἐμέ] (“whoever puts a stumbling block before one of these little ones who believe in me”), forms a *casus pendens* that is grammatically isolated from the sentence. In the main clause, this subject is recapitulated by an unemphatic pronoun (αὐτῷ). This structure is very unusual

<sup>7</sup> LADD, *A Theology of the New Testament*, 307-308; HAHN, *Theologie*, II, 459.

<sup>8</sup> R. BULTMANN, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (FRLANT 29; Göttingen 1931) 155; R.W. FUNK – R.W. HOOVER and The Jesus Seminar (eds.), *The Five Gospels. What Did Jesus Really Say?* (San Francisco, CA 1993) 86, 213-214.

<sup>9</sup> In favor of authenticity, see J. GNILKA, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (HTKNT I/2; Freiburg 1988) II, 128; W.D. DAVIES – D.C. ALLISON, JR., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh 1991) II, 761; C.S. KEENER, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI 2009) 449; J.P. MEIER, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Companions and Competitors* (ABRL; New York 2001) III, 503; B.H. GREGG, *The Historical Jesus and the Final Judgment Sayings in Q* (WUNT II; Tübingen 2006) 247-251.

<sup>10</sup> DAVIES – ALLISON, *Matthew*, II, 763. Will Deming has argued that all of Mark 9,42 – 10,12 is based on an earlier tradition, which he dates to the middle of the first century (W. DEMING, “Mark 9.42 – 10.12, Matthew 5.27-32, and *B. Nid.* 13b. A First Century Discussion of Male Sexuality”, *NTS* 36 [1990] 130-141).

in Hellenistic Greek, but it may be explained as the result of Semitic influence <sup>11</sup>. Mark's use of the positive καλόν for the comparative may be another Semitism <sup>12</sup>.

What seems to argue against the authenticity of the saying is the fact that it fits very well into the setting of early Christianity. Warning against deceptions is a well-known theme in the early church.

On the other hand, the saying appears to be known by Paul (Rom 14,13b) and holds up well by the criterion of multiple attestation <sup>13</sup>. The concern for the little ones is a well-attested concern of Jesus (Mark 10,14 par.; Luke 6,20 par.; 14,16-23 par.). What is more, the "little ones" terminology, evidently important to Matthew (cf. 10,42; 11,11; 18,6.10.14), only occurs on the lips of Jesus and is not in evidence as early Christian nomenclature.

There are good reasons to conclude in favor of the authenticity of the saying, therefore, but that conclusion does not suffice for this investigation. Our question does not concern the saying in general but the precise wording, specifically the words "the little ones who believe in me". These words are included in Matthew's version (Matt 18,6), but not in Luke's (Luke 17,2). As for Mark's Gospel, it comes down to a question of textual criticism.

### III. Textual Criticism

In NA<sup>28</sup>, the two words "in me" (εἰς ἐμέ) in Mark 9,42 are placed in brackets, indicating that their inclusion in the text cannot be determined with confidence. Several important manuscripts do not read these two words, including Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, uncial no. 37, and the old Latin. The shorter text also appears to be the original reading of Codex Ephraemi, whereas the second corrector changed it to include the two words. However, the evidence for inclusion is stronger, as the longer reading is found in Codex Vaticanus, Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Washingtonianus, the Sinaitic Syriac version, the Sahidic version, and the Majority Text <sup>14</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> E.C. MALONEY, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (SBLDS 51; Chico, CA 1981) 86-90.

<sup>12</sup> R.H. GUNDRY, *Mark. A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids, MI 1993) 523.

<sup>13</sup> If Matt 18,6 and Luke 17,2 are dependent on Q, we would have three independent sources. Cf. note 17.

<sup>14</sup> The longer reading is favored by V. TAYLOR, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (New York 1966) 410; C.E.B. CRANFIELD, *The Gospel According to St.*

The case for omission is based on internal criteria. One of the canons of textual criticism has been that the shorter reading is most likely to be original, but this rule has been challenged by recent scholarship, as empirical research shows that scribes are just as likely to abbreviate as they are to add <sup>15</sup>. In this particular case, however, the inclusion of the words “in me” (εἰς ἐμέ) may have been added as a result of harmonization with the Matthean version <sup>16</sup>. On the other hand, as I will show below, unqualified references to faith without an object are more characteristic of early Christian habits. The shorter reading may therefore have originated as an abbreviation of the longer one, if a scribe were influenced by the more common style of expression.

But the matter is more complicated still. A hypothesis regarding the original reading must also be able to account for the other surviving variants. Codex Washingtonianus reads: “one of my little ones who believe in me” (ἐνὰ τῶν μικρῶν μου τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ). There is no reason to believe that this reading is the original, but it is an important witness, because it can only be explained as originating on the basis of the longer reading, with the substitution of the pronoun “my” (μου) for the pronoun “these” (τούτων). The reason for the substitution may have been stylistic, in order to avoid the five sequential words ending in -ων. On the other hand, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis and two Latin versions read: “one of these little ones who have faith”

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*Mark* (CNTC; Cambridge 1977) 319; GUNDRY, *Mark*, 523; A. YARBRO COLLINS, *Mark. A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2007) 442; R.H. STEIN, *Mark* (BECNT; Grand Rapids, MI 2008) 451.

<sup>15</sup> E. TOV, “Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings. The Limitations of Textual Rules”, *HTR* 75 (1982) 441; J.D. MILLER, “The Long and Short of *Lectio Brevior Potior*”, *BT* 57 (2006) 11-16; E.J. EPP, “Traditional ‘Canons’ of New Testament Textual Criticism. Their Value, Validity, and Viability — or Lack Thereof”, *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament* (Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Studies 8; eds. K. WACHTEL – M.W. HOLMES; Atlanta, GA 2011) 106-116; J.B. ROYSE, “Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament”, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (SD 46; eds. B.D. EHRLMAN – M.W. HOLMES; Leiden 2013) 465-475.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. B.M. METZGER, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (New York 1994) 86. The shorter reading is also preferred by R. PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT II/2; Freiburg 1977) II, 113; J. GNILKA, *Das Markusevangelium* (EKK 2/2; Zurich 1979) II, 64; C.D. MARSHALL, *Faith as a Theme in Mark's Narrative* (SNTSMS 64; Cambridge 1989) 158-159; R.T. FRANCE, *The Gospel of Mark* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI 2002) 379; J. MARCUS, *Mark 8-16. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27A; New Haven, CT 2009) 689.



(ἐνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πίστιν ἔχόντων). This reading is also unlikely to be original, but it appears to have originated as an expansion of the shorter reading. When all the variants are considered, therefore, the internal evidence becomes inconclusive. A decision regarding probability must rely on the external evidence, where the weights tip slightly towards the longer reading, including the words “in me” (εἰς ἐμέ). But it must be admitted that this reading is relatively uncertain.

#### IV. “Those who believe in me”

That leaves us with a single verse where we can be certain that Jesus refers to faith in himself, Matt 18,6, which is almost identical to Mark 9,42: “If any of you put a stumbling block before one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be better for you if a great millstone were fastened around your neck and you were drowned in the depth of the sea”. Even if this saying is basically authentic, can we be confident that the words “who believe in me” also go back to the historical Jesus? Or could they have been added in the course of tradition, perhaps at a stage when faith had become synonymous with faith in Jesus?

The millstone saying is attested in all three Synoptic Gospels (Mark 9,42//Matt 18,6//Luke 17,2) and may be reflected in Rom 14,13b (cf. below). The Synoptic versions are so different that the saying is usually assumed to have been included in Q. If so, Matthew and Luke may have had access to two sources, which may explain the differences between the evangelists. The saying itself therefore stands well by the criterion of multiple attestation, but the matter is a little more complicated with respect to the phrase “who believe in me” (τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ). Luke’s version reads: “[i]t would be better for you if a millstone were hung around your neck and you were thrown into the sea than for you to cause one of these little ones to stumble” (Luke 17,2). Most scholars assume that the words “who believe in me” were lacking in Q, which explains why Luke also omitted them <sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> J. SCHLOSSER, “Lk 17.2 und die Logienquelle”, *SNTSU* 8 (1983) 70-78; J.A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel According to Luke (X-XXIV)*. Introduction, Translation and Notes (AB 28A; New York 1985) 1137; DAVIES – ALLISON, *Matthew*, II, 753; J.M. ROBINSON – P. HOFFMANN – J.S. KLOPPENBORG, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q*. Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas With English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2000) 474-477; U. Luz, *Matthew 8-20* (Hermeneia; trans. W.C. LINSS; Minneapolis, MN 2001) 431; GREGG, *Final Judgment*, 243-244.

That leaves us with a single source for the reference to faith, Mark 9,42, on which Matthew would have been dependent. If the two words “in me” (εἰς ἐμέ) are deemed inauthentic on text-critical grounds in Mark 9,42, they are likely to be attributed to Matthean redaction. By the criterion of dissimilarity, this phrase may also be challenged, as it is characteristic of Christian terminology (cf. Acts 19,18; Eph 1,19; 2 Thess 1,10)<sup>18</sup>.

T. W. Manson thought that he could account for the development of the tradition: “the little ones” is the original form, and it referred to children. The early church was more interested in disciples than in children and therefore gradually changed the saying so that it unambiguously referred to believers<sup>19</sup>. This reconstruction of the development in the early church does not find univocal support in the Synoptic evidence. Positive references to children abound (Mark 9,33-37 par.; 10,13-16 par.; Matt 11,25 par.; 21,15-16).

This last claim is worth examining a little further. In the early writings of the New Testament, before the Johannine literature, explicit references to faith in Jesus are surprisingly rare. They do occur, but the more common practice is to refer to “faith” without qualification. In the evidence that has the best claim to antedate Mark and the double tradition, the undisputed letters of Paul, the verb πιστεύω occurs 42 times. In 20 cases, it is used without specifying the object of faith<sup>20</sup>. By comparison, there are only two instances in which Paul specifies Christ as the object of πιστεύω (Gal 2,16; Phil 1,29). In both examples,

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<sup>18</sup> E. LOHMEYER, *Das Evangelium des Markus* (KEK; Göttingen 1959) 196; E. SCHWEIZER, *The Good News According to Matthew* (trans. D.E. GREEN; Atlanta, GA 1975) 365; GNILKA, *Matthäusevangelium*, II, 128; DAVIES – ALLISON, *Matthew*, II, 761; J.P. MEIER, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus*. Mentor, Message, and Miracles (ABRL; New York 1994) II, 542; DUNN, *Jesus Remembered*, 501; GREGG, *Final Judgment*, 247. Craig A. Evans judges the two words εἰς ἐμέ to be the result of Christian redaction. He maintains that Jesus proclaimed faith in the gospel (Mark 1,15), not in the resurrected Christ (Mark 8:27 – 16:20, 69; similarly JEREMIAS, *New Testament Theology*, 162; GOPPELT, *Theology*, I, 150). Eduard Schweizer postulates a similar development, but maintains that “the little ones” originally referred to disciples. Mark added “who believe” to clarify the meaning, when this term was no longer correctly understood (*The Good News According to Mark* [trans. D.H. MADVIG; Atlanta, GA 1970] 198). Several scholars understand the saying to refer to believing children in the Gospel of Mark (GUNDRY, *Mark*, 524; YARBRO COLLINS, *Mark*, 450).

<sup>19</sup> T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London, 1957) 138.

<sup>20</sup> Rom 1,16; 3,22; 4,11; 10,4,10; 13,11; 14,2; 15,13; 1 Cor 1,21; 3,5; 14,22(2x); 15,2,11; 2 Cor 4,13(2x); Gal 3,22; 1 Thess 1,7; 2,10,13.

the object is indicated with the preposition εἰς, as in Matt 18,6 and in the longer reading of Mark 9,42. In addition, Christ is implied as the object in Rom 10,14 (twice).

There are three instances in the undisputed letters in which God is the object of faith (Rom 4,5.17.24), in addition to the five quotations from the Scriptures of Israel in which πιστεύω is used with an object (Rom 4,3; 9,33; 10,11.16; Gal 3,6). In two of those scriptural quotations, Paul has reinterpreted a reference to faith in God as a statement about faith in Christ (Rom 9,33; 10,11). Three times the content of faith is stated in a ὅτι clause (Rom 6,8; 10,9; 1 Thess 4,14) and once with a clause beginning with εἰς τό (Rom 4,18). In 1 Cor 11,18 Paul believes the report he heard about the Corinthian church, and in 1 Cor 13,7 love believes all things. In addition, Paul uses πιστεύω in the passive voice four times, with the meaning “to be entrusted” (Rom 3,2; 1 Cor 9,17; Gal 2,7; 1 Thess 2,4).

The noun πίστις occurs 91 times in the undisputed Paulines, 80 of them without an object, not counting the seven occurrences of the disputed genitive construction πίστις Χριστοῦ (Rom 3,22.26; Gal 2,16 [2x]; 3,22.26; Phil 3,9; cf. Gal 2,20) and the one instance of “the faith of the gospel” (τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου: Phil 1,27)<sup>21</sup>. Apart from these disputed genitive constructions, there is one example of “the Lord Jesus Christ” as the object of πίστις, identified with the preposition πρὸς (Phlm 5). In addition, “God” is the object of πίστις in one instance (1 Thess 1,8).

The other New Testament epistles are usually dated later than Mark and the double tradition, but sometimes claims for earlier dates are made for the disputed Paulines, as well as for Hebrews, James, First Peter, and Jude. The picture in these letters is naturally more diverse, but the basic pattern is unmistakable. References to faith without specifying the object are overwhelmingly the rule. Hebrews and Jude have no references to Christ as the object of faith, James has one (out of a total of 19 references to faith), and First Peter has two (eight total). When Christ is identified as the object of faith, there is no uniformity in phraseology.

In the disputed Pauline letters, there are 12 occurrences of the verb

<sup>21</sup> Rom 1,5.8.12.17(3x); 3,25.27.28.30(2x).31; 4,5.9.11.12.13.14.16(2x).19.20; 5,1.2; 9,30.32; 10,6.8.17; 11,20; 12,3.6; 14,1.22.23(2x); 16,26; 1 Cor 2,5; 12,9; 13,2.13; 15,14.17; 16,13; 2 Cor 1,24(2x); 4,13; 5,7; 8,7; 10,15; 13,5; Gal 1,23; 3,2.5.7.8.9.11.12.14.23(2x).24.25.26; 5,5.6.22; 6,10; Phil 1,25; 2,17; 3,9; 1 Thess 1,3; 3,2.5.6.7.10; 5,8; Phlm 6.

πιστεύω. Four of them specify Christ as the object, with the preposition ἐν (Eph 1,13), with the preposition ἐπί (1 Tim 1,16), with a dative (2 Tim 1,12), and with Christ as the subject of the verb in the passive voice (1 Tim 3,16). There are two examples of the verb being used without specifying the object of faith (Eph 1,19; 2 Thess 1,10); in one case the object of faith is the testimony (2 Thess 1,10), in one case “what is false” (2 Thess 2,11), in one case the truth (2 Thess 2,12), and in one case God (Tit 3,8). On two occasions, the verb is used in the passive voice, meaning “to be entrusted” (1 Tim 1,11; Tit 1,3).

The disputed Paulines also count 51 occurrences of the noun πίστις, 44 of them without an object (Eph 2,8; 3,12.17; 4,5.13; 6,16.23; Col 1,23; 2,7; 2 Thess 1,3.4.11; 3,2; 1 Tim 1,2.4.5.14.19 [2x]; 2,7.15; 3,9; 4,1.6.12; 5,8.12; 6,10.11.12.21; 2 Tim 1,5.13; 2,18.22; 3,8.10; 4,7; Tit 1,1.4.13; 2,2.10; 3,15). When an object is identified it may be indicated with a genitive (the power of God: Col 2,12; the truth: 2 Thess 2,13) or with the prepositions ἐν (the Lord Jesus: Eph 1,15; Christ Jesus: Col 1,4; 1 Tim 3,13; 2 Tim 3,15) and εἰς (Christ: Col 2,5).

In Hebrews, the verb πιστεύω occurs twice, once with no specified object (4,3) and once with the object in a ὅτι clause (11,6). The noun πίστις occurs 32 times, 27 times without an object (Heb 4,2; 6,12; 10,22.38.39; 11,4.5.7[2x].8.9.11.13.17.20.21.23.24.27.28.29.30.31.33.39; 12,2; 13,7). Technically, the occurrences of πίστις in Heb 11,1.3.6.22 also have no object, but it is implied that the object is “things hoped for” and “things not seen” in Heb 11,1, “that the worlds were prepared by the word of God” in Heb 11,3, “that [God] exists and that he rewards those who seek him” in Heb 11,6, and “the exodus” in Heb 11,22. In Heb 6,1, God is identified as the object with the preposition ἐπί.

In James, the three occurrences of the verb concern faith in God, either with a ὅτι clause (2,19[2x]) or with a dative (in the quotation from Gen 15,6 in Jas 2,23). There are 16 occurrences of the noun πίστις in James, 15 without an object (1,3.6; 2,5.14[2x].17.18[3x].20.22[2x].24.26; 5,15). In 2,1, a genitive identifies “our glorious Lord Jesus Christ” as the object.

First Peter has one occurrence of the verb without an object (2,7), one example of the object (Christ) indicated with the preposition εἰς (1,8), and one scriptural quotation with the object following the preposition ἐπί (Isa 28,16 interpreted as referring to Christ: 1 Pet 2,6). The same letter has five occurrences of the noun πίστις, four of them with

no object (1,5.7.9; 5,9). In 1 Pet 1,21, God is the object of faith, identified with the preposition εἰς. The verb πιστεύω is not found in 2 Peter, but the noun πίστις occurs twice, both times without any object (2 Pet 1,1.5). Jude has one instance in which the verb πιστεύω is used with no object (Jude 5) and two instances in which the noun πίστις is used in the same way (Jude 3.20).

It is therefore the shorter reading of Mark 9,42 that is most likely to reflect ecclesial terminology. The longer reading of Mark 9,42 and Matthew's version represent the less common form. That the earliest evidence shows such a preponderance for the absolute use of faith is significant. The presupposition for this usage is that "faith" without qualification may be understood as equivalent to faith in Jesus. In other words, the fact that Christians were characterized by faith in Jesus (rather than in God) must have been established at a very early stage. The easiest way to account for the development is therefore as follows: Jesus explicitly referred to his followers as believing in him. In the early church, "to believe" was quickly established as meaning to believe in Jesus.

As for the question of whether Matthew or Luke is more likely to have preserved the original form of the millstone saying, the scales of probability tip towards Matthew. It is unlikely that the participial phrase "who believe in him" is a Matthean addition. The phraseology is not Matthean; Matt 18,6 is the only instance in the Gospel in which the verb πιστεύω is used as a substantival participle.

More generally, Matthew does not display a very clear tendency when it comes to references to faith. However, there are more examples of him omitting than adding such references. In the story of the stilling of the storm, Matthew (8,23-27) omits the saying about the lack of faith that is found in both Mark (4,40) and Luke (8,25). Jesus' words to Jairus about faith, included in both Mark (5,36) and Luke (Luke 8,50), are also omitted by Matthew (9,23-26). Both Matthew (17,14-21) and Luke (9,37-43a) omit Jesus' statement about faith as well as the father's answer in the story about the healing of a possessed boy (cf. Mark 9,23-24). When he recounts the healing of Bartimaeus, Matthew (20,29-34) has omitted the reference to faith that is found in both Mark (10,52) and Luke (18,42). On the other hand, Matthew includes more sayings about little faith. His Gospel contains four occurrences of ὀλιγόπιστος ("of little faith": 6,30; 8,26; 14,31; 16,8), as compared to one occurrence in Luke (12,28) and none in Mark. Matthew's Gospel also includes one occurrence of ὀλιγοπιστία ("little faith": 17,20), which is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT. He also includes a com-

mendation of the Syro-Phoenician woman's faith (15,28), where Mark has no explicit mention of faith (cf. Mark 7,29). This last example may be explicable on the basis of another Matthean tendency: his interest in showing the faith of Gentiles surpassing that of Jews (cf. Matt 8,10). "The little ones" is a favorite expression of Matthew's (10,42; 11,11; 18,6.10.14), but only in the millstone saying does he add the qualifier "who believe in me" (τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ).

On the other hand, Luke's omission of the words "who believe in me" is easier to explain. Luke's interest in those of low status is very well attested, and it would be consistent with his tendencies to render the saying in a way that downplays a spiritual interpretation (cf. Luke 4,18-19; 6,20.24 in comparison with the Matthean parallels).

#### V. Pauline Attestation

With the millstone saying, we are in the unusual and fortunate situation of possibly having additional attestation in the letters of Paul. Scholars have related several verses in Romans to Mark 9,42 par., but the best evidence is found in Rom 14,13b: "rather decide not to put a stumbling block or hindrance in the way of a brother"<sup>22</sup>. Instead of "the little ones who believe in me", Paul simply has "brother" (ἀδελφός). Paul almost certainly does not preserve the original in this respect, as "brother" is one of his favorite terms for referring to believers (the term occurs 113 times in the undisputed letters). Paul's echo of Jesus' saying is therefore of limited value for our purposes.

However, if we assume that Paul knew one of the three versions that have been discussed above, he appears to have substituted "brother" for

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<sup>22</sup> C.H. DODD, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Fontana Books; London 1959) 223; W.D. DAVIES, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (Mifflintown, PA 1998) 138; V.P. FURNISH, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville, TN 1968) 53; C.E.B. CRANFIELD, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh 1979) II, 712; D.C. ALLISON, JR., "The Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels. The Pattern of the Parallels", *NTS* 28 (1982) 14-15; J.D.G. DUNN, *Romans 9-16* (WBC 38B; Dallas, TX 1988) 818; R. JEWETT, *Romans*. A Commentary (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2007) 858. Michael Thompson cautiously concludes that "Paul has probably been influenced by the teaching of Jesus, but he does not draw attention to the origin of the thought" (*Clothed with Christ*. The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.11 – 15.13 [JSNTSup 59; Sheffield 1991] 184, cf. 174-184). Karlheinz Müller maintains that Pauline dependence upon Mark 9,42 par. is only a possibility (*Anstoß und Gericht*. Eine Studie zum jüdischen Hintergrund des paulinischen Skandalon-Begriffs [StANT 19; Munich 1969] 44).

“the little ones who believe in me”, “the little ones who believe”, or just “the little ones”. If we also assume that he expected his audience to recognize the saying, it is plausible that he knew a version that included a reference to faith, as an association of “believer” with “brother” is easier to make than an association of “the little ones” with the same term. At the same time, it is surprising that Paul did not include the term “little ones” at all. This term would have been well-suited for his rhetorical purposes in Rom 14,1 – 15,13, as he urges the Roman Christians to “welcome those who are weak in faith” (Rom 14,1; cf. 15,1).

While Paul’s apparent knowledge of the saying strengthens the likelihood of it being authentic, the Pauline evidence does little to help us determine the original wording of the saying. For our purposes, all that may be said is that the Pauline attestation makes it marginally more likely that a reference to faith was original to the saying.

In light of these observations, it might be concluded that the words “who believe in me” are not likely to have been added by Matthew himself. If they also were present in Mark and known to Paul, as is plausible, they have been an integrated part of the tradition as far back as it is possible to trace it <sup>23</sup>. They may very well go back to the historical Jesus.

## VI. The Mockers at the Cross (Matt 27,42)

A reference to faith in Jesus also occurs in Matt 27,42, where those who pass by at Jesus’ crucifixion mock him with the words: “[h]e saved others; he cannot save himself. He is the King of Israel; let him come down from the cross now, and we will believe in him”. Mark attributes this mockery to the scribes and the chief priests, and he has the wording: “[h]e saved others; he cannot save himself. Let the Messiah, the King of Israel, come down from the cross now, so that we may see and believe” (15,31-32).

Whatever the identity of the mockers, it is plausible that Jesus was ridiculed by the passers-by and the other criminals when he was crucified <sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Other scholars who find Matthew and Mark to have preserved the most original form of the saying include D. WENHAM, “A Note on Mark 9:33-42/Matt 18:1-6/Luke 9:46-50”, *JSNT* 14 (1982) 116; GUNDRY, *Mark*, 527.

<sup>24</sup> PESCH, *Markusevangelium*, II, 489-490; MARCUS, *Mark 8-16*, 1044. The question whether Matthew and Mark have located the mockery of the members of the Sanhedrin at the cross for rhetorical effect need not concern us here. Cf. R.E. BROWN, *The Death of the Messiah. A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (ABRL; New York 1994) II, 1028. Rudolf Bultmann deemed



As for the precise wording, the evangelists' accounts appear to be determined by descriptions of the suffering of the righteous in the Scriptures of Israel. Matt 27,43 quotes Ps 22,9 and may also contain an allusion to Lam 2,15. Many commentators therefore conclude that it is impossible to know what, if anything, of the words recorded are historically accurate<sup>25</sup>.

It is frequently overlooked, however, that there is a clear tension between the mockery recorded in v. 42 and v. 43 in Matthew's account. In v. 42, the point of the sarcasm is that Jesus is inadequate as a savior because he appears unable to save himself. In v. 43, the mockers' implicit claim is that he is not favored by God, because God does not save him. The quotation from the Psalms occurs in v. 43. If Matthew's wording has been influenced by Scripture, that influence is most likely to have occurred in the statement recorded in v. 43. But if the wording of v. 42 were also a free creation of the tradition, why has it not been constructed so that it agrees with the scriptural quotation to follow? Why does it refer to Jesus' own powers of salvation, not to God's willingness to save him, which is the point of v. 43? The chief priests', scribes', and elders' mock concession that they will believe in Jesus is also quite abrupt and unmotivated by Matthew's narrative. Nowhere in Matthew's Gospel does Jesus demand or invite people to have faith in him. To explain the anomaly, Gnllka maintains that Matthew's use of πιστεύσομεν ἐπ' αὐτόν in 27,42 is a Pauline formula, but this explanation will not do<sup>26</sup>. The phraseology is used three times by Paul (Rom 4,24; 9,33; 10,11), twice in a quotation from the Septuagint (Rom 9,33; 10,11). It is better understood as scriptural, which would explain why Matthew would use the terminology, but it does not explain the presence of the idea in this context. However, if Matthew is preserving an authentic tradition in v. 42, that would explain this tension.

The parallel account in Mark's Gospel does not contain the quotation from the Psalms but only the sarcastic comment about Jesus' inability to save himself. Mark also has a different wording of this taunt: he does

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the account legendary, composed on the basis of Ps 21,8 and Lam 2,15 LXX (*Geschichte*, 295).

<sup>25</sup> GNILKA, *Matthäusevangelium*, II, 473-474, 479; W.D. DAVIES – D.C. ALLISON, JR., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh 1997) III, 617. Ludger Schenke does not discuss the historicity but ascribes the mockery in Mark 15,31b-32a to the earliest layer of the tradition (*Der gekreuzigte Christus. Versuch einer literarkritischen und traditionsgegeschichtlichen Bestimmung der vormarkinischen Passionsgeschichte* [Stuttgarter Bibelstudien; Stuttgart 1974] 105).

<sup>26</sup> *Matthäusevangelium*, II, 473.

not include the words “in him” (ἐπ’ αὐτόν). The mock promise is therefore not a promise to believe in Jesus, but a promise to believe without further qualification. In this case, however, the difference between Matthew and Mark is not as significant as it may seem. The implication, also in Mark’s version, is that the mockers will believe in Jesus. The point of dispute is not whether they will believe in God, but whether they will believe in Jesus, or at least whether they will believe that God is with him. Since it is Jesus’ own power to save that is at stake (not merely God’s willingness to save him), and since religious belief is closely associated with salvation (cf. further below), the mockers must be understood to profess their readiness to believe in Jesus. While we cannot recover the original version of the mockers’ words, it remains plausible that both evangelists reflect an authentic tradition, a tradition echoing the fact that Jesus called for faith in his own person <sup>27</sup>.

Even though Jesus’ *ipsissima verba* may be irrecoverable, the idea that he saw himself as the object of his followers’ faith is reflected in different strands of the Synoptic tradition: the millstone saying and the passion narrative. As the evangelists demonstrate no interest in developing this point, it cannot be attributed to their redaction. The idea is amply attested in the Gospel of John, in which it may reflect the evangelist’s theological interest (cf., e.g., John 1,12), but, with the corroborating evidence in the Synoptic Gospels, a cumulative case can be made that the basic idea of Jesus calling for faith in himself is rooted in traditions going back to the historical Jesus.

## VI. Significance

If it is plausible that Jesus issued such a call, its significance must be evaluated in light of his Jewish religious context <sup>28</sup>. Faith is an important concept in the Scriptures of Israel <sup>29</sup>. The hifil form of אָמֵן, which is usually translated “to believe” or “to trust”, occurs 52 times. This form may be used in a secular sense, describing someone who

<sup>27</sup> I am not suggesting that the Matthean account of the mockers’ words is more original than the account in Mark, nor that their words are recoverable, but rather that the mockers, according to both accounts, must have thought that Jesus had called people to believe in him.

<sup>28</sup> E. LOHSE, “Emuna und Pistis – Jüdisches und urchristliches Verständnis des Glaubens”, *ZNW* 68 (1977) 148. In the Greco-Roman context, πιστ-terminology is not used in a religious sense to depict the appropriate way to relate to a deity. Cf. R. BULTMANN, “πιστεύω κτλ”, *TDNT* VI, 179.

<sup>29</sup> For a thorough discussion, see especially YEUNG, *Faith*, 133-140.

believes in someone else's words (e.g., Gen 45,26; Exod 4,1.5; 1 Kgs 10,7; Jer 12,6; 40,14), or trusting that a person is reliable (e.g., Judg 11,20; 1 Sam 27,12). In a religious sense, the object of faith is God (Gen 15,6; Isa 43,10; Jon 3,5; Dan 6,24), an idea that is more commonly expressed in the context of censuring those who lack such faith (Num 14,11; 20,12; Deut 1,32; 9,23; 2 Kgs 17,14; Ps 78,22). Alfred Jepsen observes: "[i]t is that of absolute trust in God and his word, the like of which one cannot manifest toward another man, a trust on which the existence of man somehow depends"<sup>30</sup>. When faith is used in this absolute sense, it entails trusting in God for salvation, especially in the face of danger or adversity (Ps 78,22; Job 9,16)<sup>31</sup>. The story of Jehoshaphat may serve as an illustrative example. Faced with the threat of invasion by the Moabites and Ammonites, Jehoshaphat calls the people to rely on God for their safety: "Believe in the Lord your God and you will be established; believe his prophets" (2 Chr 20,20).

This example also shows that faith in God goes hand-in-hand with faith in his messengers, such as Moses (Exod 14,31; 19,9) and the prophets (2 Chr 20,20). However, the faith that is to be placed in the prophets must be distinguished from the faith that is to be placed in God. To believe in the prophets means to believe in their message, and to believe in them is therefore ultimately to believe in God. This relationship becomes evident when God provides a demonstration that legitimizes Moses, so that the people can believe him (Exod 19,9)<sup>32</sup>.

"To believe" is synonymous with "to trust" (בטח), a term that also has both a secular (e.g., Judg 9,26; Prov 31,11; Mic 7,5) and a religious use (e.g., 2 Kgs 18,5; Ps 4,6; Prov 16,20; Isa 26,4; Jer 17,7). In its religious use, trust in God stands in contrast to trust in human beings (2 Kgs 18,20.21.24; Pss 118,8.9; 146,3; Isa 36,4.5.6.9; Jer 17,5; 46,25), in military strength (Deut 28,52; Isa 31,1; Jer 48,7; Hos 10,13), in one's wealth (Pss 49,7; 52,9; Prov 11,28; Jer 49,4), in one's own wits (Prov 28,26), and in idols (Pss 115,8; 135,18; Isa 42,17). To trust in such things is to abandon trust in God, who is the only one in whom one can ultimately trust<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> A. JEPSEN, "אמן", *TDOT* I, 309; similarly G. EBELING, "Jesus and Faith", *Word and Faith* [G. EBELING; London 1963] 209-210.

<sup>31</sup> H. WILDBERGER, "אמן", *TLOT* 144-145.

<sup>32</sup> JEPSEN, "אמן", I, 303.

<sup>33</sup> Pierre Benoit makes a similar point regarding faith in the Synoptic Gospels ("Faith in the Synoptic Gospels", *Jesus and the Gospel* [trans. B. WEATHERHEAD; New York 1973] I, 73).

Another term that is closely related to faith and trust, is “to wait” (יָחַל; חָכָה; קָוָה), both in a secular and a religious sense. In the religious sense, to wait for the Lord implies to place one’s hope in him (Gen 49,18; 2 Kgs 6,33; Pss 25,3; 31,25; 33,20,22; Isa 8,17; 40,31; 51,5; Hab 2,3; Lam 3,24; etc.). In Isaiah’s first Servant Song, the coastlands are said to “wait for his teaching” (Isa 42,4). This teaching must be understood as the word of God, so that the point here ultimately is to wait for God.

The picture we find in the literature of Second Temple Judaism is similar to that of the Scriptures<sup>34</sup>. In a religious sense, the emphasis on having trust in God is equally strong<sup>35</sup>, but the importance of also believing his words becomes more pronounced. Philo observes that Abraham believed in the divine oracles (*Her.* 287; cf. *Jub.* 14,21), and Moses believed what God communicated to him (*Plant.* 62; *Mos.* 1.83). To believe what God says is the duty of human beings (*Abr.* 275; cf. *L.A.B.* 15,6). In *2 Baruch*, the idea of a coming judgment is the object of faith (57,2; cf. 59,2). Since the faithful “believe that the law was established by God” (*4 Macc.* 5,25), they may also be said to believe in the law (*Sir* 32,24 LXX; cf. *Sir* 33,3 LXX; *4 Ezra* 7,24; *2 Bar.* 54,5; *Sib. Or.* 3,284), in the Scriptures (*1 En.* 104,13), or in the covenants (*4 Ezra* 3,32; 5,29; 7,83). They also believe in the resurrection (*4 Macc.* 7,19). As the place of God’s presence, the temple is the object of faith in *2 Macc* 3,12. The wilderness generation should have believed in God’s wonders (*L.A.B.* 25,6). In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the community placed their faith in God’s word (4Q379 f18,7) and his deeds (1QS 4,3-4). The condemned do not believe in the spring of life (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16,14), in the covenant of God (1QpHab 2,4), or his precepts

<sup>34</sup> For a thorough discussion, see D.R. LINDSAY, *Josephus and Faith*. Πίστις and Πιστεύειν as Faith Terminology in the Writings of Flavius Josephus and in the New Testament (AGJU 19; Leiden 1993) 21-164; YEUNG, *Faith*, 141-167.

<sup>35</sup> *Jdt* 14,10; *Wis* 12,2; 16,26; *Sir* 2,6.8; 11,21; 32,24; *3 Macc.* 2,7; *4 Macc.* 7,21; 15,24; 16,22; *4 Ezra* 8,30; 13,23; *Jub.* 14,6; 20,9; *Pss. Sol.* 5,11.14; 9,10; 15,1; 17,3.34.39; *Jos. Asen.* 12,13; 15,7; *L.A.B.* 6,9; 23,5-6.12; 31,7; 39,6; 50,5; *L.A.E.* 29,9; *Hist. Rech.* 11,2; *1 En.* 43,4; 69,25; *2 Bar.* 48,22; 77,7; *T. Dan* 5,13; *T. Job* 11,11; 37,1-5; *Arist.* 261; *Sib. Or.* 1,352; 5,284; *Apoc. Ab.* 29,11; *Ps.* 155,20; Philo, *Leg.* 2,89; 3.228.229; *Mut.* 166, 177, 186, 218; *Abr.* 262, 269; *Virt.* 216, 218; *Migr.* 43, 44; *Her.* 90, 92-93, 99; *Deus* 4; *Mos.* 1,225.284; 2,259; *Praem.* 27, 28; Josephus, *Ant.* 2,117.333; 3,44.309; 4,5. Cf. BULTMANN, “πιστεύω κτλ”, VI, 200. In the eschatological judgment, those who are condemned suffer this fate because they did not believe in God (*1 En.* 63,7-8; 67,8, cf. *Jos. Asen.* 21,15-16; *L.A.B.* 14,4; 33,5; Philo, *Sacr.* 70).

(1QpHab 2,14)<sup>36</sup>. To believe Moses (Josephus, *Ant.* 2,274) and the prophets (4 *Ezra* 7,130; Josephus, *Ant.* 11,96) is a natural expression of this conviction. In most of the cases in which “faith” language is used in connection with the prophets, the object of faith is not the prophets as such, but their message (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 8,232; 9,12.72.86; 10,28.39.105.114.119.124.178). Tobit can therefore be said to have believed the word of God through the prophet Nahum (Tob 14,4, cf. Philo, *Agr.* 50). Josephus explains that the Jews believed that Daniel conversed with God (*Ant.* 10,267).

According to Martin Hengel, adherence to charismatic and Zealot leaders was conditioned upon faith. The object of this faith, however, was not the prophet himself but his message or his divine authorization<sup>37</sup>. Lindsay quotes two instances in which Josephus refers to faith in holy persons (in addition to Moses and the prophets). In *Ant.* 3,308 Joshua and Caleb dissuade the people from believing the frightening message of the spies, and in *Ant.* 5,215 some young men believe Gideon’s account<sup>38</sup>. In both of these examples, faith is not understood as absolute faith in a person, but belief in their message.

In the examples of a religious understanding of faith, the ultimate object of faith is always God<sup>39</sup>. Faith in God’s spokespersons is derivative of faith in God; the one to trust for salvation is still God himself. Philo discusses how Israel ought to have had faith in Moses. The reason is that they had already received abundant proof of his truthfulness (*Mos.* 1,196), a reference to the divine legitimization of Moses (cf. Exod 19,19). In *Somn.* 2,24, therefore, the virtuous person believes what Moses says about God. As far as I have been able to ascertain, Jewish writings that antedate the Christian movement do not award this role to the Messiah. On the contrary, the *Psalms of Solomon* emphasizes that the Messiah will hope in God (17,34.39). The Christian additions to the *Testament of Benjamin* (10,7.8.9 Slavonic Recension), the *Sibylline Oracles* (8,255), and the *Life of Adam and Eve* (42,3), constitute the only examples I have found of texts that describe

<sup>36</sup> Cf. also LOHSE, “Emuna und Pistis”, 150.

<sup>37</sup> *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* (ed. J. RICHES; trans. J.C.G. GREIG; New York 1996) 23. N. T. Wright compares Jesus’ call to faith to the demand for personal loyalty by Jewish messianic pretenders and concludes that Jesus’ call was not “unique” (*Victory*, 263). He fails to consider the distinction described above.

<sup>38</sup> *Josephus and Faith*, 131-132.

<sup>39</sup> Concerning Philo, Lindsay concludes: “πίστις as religious faith or trust is exclusively πίστις which is directed toward God” (*Josephus and Faith*, 60).

the Messiah as the object of people's trust. *Second Baruch* appears to introduce a novel idea (perhaps as a result of Christian influence) when it refers to the resurrection of "all who sleep in hope of [the Messiah]" (30,1).

Another anomaly is found in the Enochic literature, in which the heavenly Son of Man is the object of hope. With an allusion to the Servant Songs of Isaiah (42,6; 49,6), the Son of Man is described as "a staff for the righteous ones in order that they may lean on him and not fall. He is the light of the gentiles and he will become the hope of those who are sick in their hearts" (1 *En.* 48,4). In the last judgment, not only the righteous but also the rulers of the world will place their hope in him: "all the kings, the governors, the high officials, and those who rule the earth shall fall down before him on their faces, and worship and raise their hopes in that Son of Man; they shall beg and plead for mercy at his feet" (62,9). In 2 *Enoch*, Enoch also places his hope in the angels that guided him on his journey to the heavenly throne (2 *En.* 21,4).

As far as earthly characters go, I have only found two examples where someone other than God is encroaching upon his role as the object of trust. Both of them are in the Septuagint translation of Isaiah. The MT of Isa 28,16 may be translated: "therefore thus says the Lord God, See, I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation: 'One who trusts will not panic'" (NRSV). "One who trusts" (הַמֵּאֲמִין) is here used without an object; the presumed object is God. In the Septuagint, there is an important change. The translation reads: "therefore thus says the Lord, See, I will lay for the foundations of Sion a precious, choice stone, a highly valued cornerstone for its foundations, and the one who believes in him (ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ) will not be put to shame" (NETS). The stone is now the object of faith. The connection between God and the stone is close, as God is the one laying the stone in place. Nevertheless, the Septuagint represents a new development in that something other than God is now the object of faith in the absolute sense.

The Septuagint translation of Isaiah's first Servant Song goes even further. The MT describes the Servant as follows: "[h]e will not grow faint or be crushed until he has established justice in the earth; and the coastlands wait for his teaching (יְחִילוּ אַיִם וְלַחֲוֹרֹתוֹ)" (Isa 42,4 NRSV). As I have already mentioned, this teaching must be the word of God. In the Septuagint, however, there is once again an important difference: "[h]e will blaze up and not be overwhelmed until he has established judgment on the earth, and nations will hope in his name

(ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν)” (NETS) <sup>40</sup>. The object of hope is no longer the Servant’s teaching, but the Servant himself.

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The evidence therefore does not point clearly in only one direction. The bulk of the evidence shows that God was the object of faith, but there are also examples of his agents having that function. If Jesus expected his disciples to have absolute faith in him, this expectation is capable of more than one explanation. The explanation that has the strongest support is that Jesus thereby saw himself as filling the role that was reserved for YHWH according to the Scriptures of Israel. As I have argued elsewhere, there are strong indications in the Synoptic tradition that Jesus understood himself to be God’s Son in the sense that he not only had an intimate relationship with God, but that he was equal to God. Jesus said and did things that are best understood in this way, such as identifying the kingdom of God with his own personal presence (Luke 11,20 par.; 17,21), performing miracles by his own power and interpreting them as proof that the new creation had arrived (Luke 7,21-22 par.), forgiving sins (Mark 2,5 par.), anticipating a role as the eschatological judge (Matt 25,31-46), and speaking with an authority that matches that of God’s word (Matt 5,21; 8,22) <sup>41</sup>. In light of this evidence, the criterion of coherence strengthens the interpretation that Jesus understood himself in God’s role when he called his followers to believe in him.

However, Jesus’ reference to disciples believing in him is also capable of a different explanation. It is consistent with an understanding of Jesus as an exceptional divine agent. If Jesus redefined messiahship in light of Isaiah’s Servant Songs, it would have been a natural step to see the Messiah as the object of his followers’ faith. Such faith in the Messiah would have been an expression of the disciples’ faith in God. This explanation would also account for the recorded words of the passers-by at the cross. Their mock concession that they would believe is made in the context of a messianic identification of Jesus. In the Matthean version they call Jesus “king of Israel” (27,42), and in the Markan account he is referred to as “the Messiah, the King of Israel” (15,32).

<sup>40</sup> This version is also quoted in Matt 12,21.

<sup>41</sup> S. GRINDHEIM, *God’s Equal*. What Can We Know About Jesus’ Self-Understanding? (LNTS 446; London 2011).



On the other hand, the most important background for the concept of faith in an eschatological figure is found in the Septuagint. If the identification of Jesus as the object of faith took place in the Hellenistic church, that would strengthen this hypothesis. But if the origin of the idea is older, going back even to the historical Jesus himself, the best explanation seems to be that Jesus saw himself as filling the role of God, and that he therefore expected to be the one on whom his followers relied for salvation. It is of course also possible that these two explanations should not be seen as mutually exclusive alternatives. Jesus may also have redefined messiahship in light of the traditions of the heavenly Son of Man. The title could then refer to a heavenly character that shared the powers of God (cf. Mark 14,61-62)<sup>42</sup>.

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### Summary

Did Jesus call his followers to believe in him? Or did he merely call them to believe in God or in the contents of his teaching? This article examines the evidence found in the Synoptic Gospels and discusses its possible Christological implications in light of the Scriptures of Israel and the writings of Second Temple Judaism. If Jesus expected to be the object of his disciples' faith, his expectation may be understood in light of his redefinition of messiahship. But he may also be seen to have placed himself in the role of God, who was the object of Israel's faith in the Scriptures of Israel and in Second Temple Judaism.

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<sup>42</sup> See further S. GRINDHEIM, *Christology in the Synoptic Gospels. God or God's Servant?* (London 2012) 69-70.

## A “Non-Ethnic” People?

### I. Engaging a Fresh Trend within New Testament Research

There is no doubt that several texts stemming from the early Jesus movement claim that the followers of Jesus somehow constitute a “people”. Terms like *λαός*, *γένος* and *ἔθνος* are occasionally used to construct a shared sense of identity for the followers of Jesus, and phrases like “children of God” and “descendants of Abraham” are also sometimes used for the same purpose<sup>1</sup>. How the use of such terminology should be interpreted, however, has been the source of much disagreement. Traditionally, many have assumed that ethnic terms are employed by the followers of Jesus but not to denote an ethnic identity — hence the title of this essay. Recent times have witnessed several important contributions to the discussion of “ethnic reasoning” within the early Jesus movement, which have sought to challenge this traditional view<sup>2</sup>. This article engages this fresh trend and will focus particularly on the works of Denise K. Buell and Caroline J. Hodge<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts 15,14-16; Romans 4; 9,23-26; Galatians 3–4, 1 Pet 2,8-10. Note, though, that the terms *γένος* and *ἔθνος* are only used rarely in the New Testament for followers of Jesus. Translations are from New American Bible Revised Edition (NABRE) unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> The term “ethnic reasoning” has been coined by D.K. BUELL, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York 2005) 2, and signifies a set of discursive strategies used to construe collective identity in terms of peoplehood. Another recent and important contribution to the topic of ethnic reasoning worth mentioning is L.L. SECHREST, *A Former Jew: Paul and the Dialectics of Race* (LNTS 410; London 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Buell’s most important contribution is the monograph, *Why This New Race?*, mentioned in the footnote above. However, she has also written several important journal articles: “Constructing Early Christian Identities Using Ethnic Reasoning”, *ASE* 24.1 (2007) 87-101; “Race and Universalism in Early Christianity”, *J ECS* 10 (2002) 429-468; “Rethinking the Relevance of Race for Early Christian Self-Definition”, *HTR* 94 (2001) 449-476; “Ethnicity and Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity and Beyond”, *RSR* 26 (2000) 243-249; “Producing Descent/Dissent. Clement of Alexandria’s Use of Filial Metaphors as Intra-Christian Polemic”, *HTR* 90 (1997) 89-104. C.J. HODGE, has written a monograph on the issue, focusing on Paul: *If Sons, Then Heirs. A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford 2007). In addition, she has written a relevant article on Paul’s identity: “Apostle to the Gentiles. Constructions of Paul’s Identity”, *BI* 13 (2005) 270-288.

Although Buell has published mainly on texts written after the time of the New Testament, it still makes sense to enter into dialogue with her work in an article that focuses on the interpretation of ethnic reasoning in New Testament texts. For one thing, Buell has been an important influence on New Testament scholarship.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Buell also argues that her views have a bearing on New Testament texts. In a co-authored article, Buell and Hodge demonstrate how their shared theoretical assumptions have implications for the interpretation of Paul.<sup>5</sup> Since the article engages both Buell and Hodge together, this co-authored article will serve as the starting point of discussion, although reference will also be made to other works of Buell and Hodge.

Despite their differences, a shared emphasis for Buell and Hodge is that traditional interpretations of ethnic reasoning tend to operate with a misconstrued understanding of what “ethnicity” is, and that misconstrued conceptions of ethnicity give rise to over-simplified, flawed or even morally problematic reconstructions of early Christianity. Based on their new approach to what ethnicity is and how ethnic language functions in ancient sources, they attempt to demonstrate that several texts stemming from the early Jesus movement construct an ethnic identity for their audiences<sup>6</sup>. They thus reject the view that ethnicity became irrelevant for, or was transcended by, the Jesus movement. Their arguments are insightful, provocative and worth engaging. The present essay will take Gal 3,26-29 as the starting point. What Paul writes here is often referred to as evidence for precisely the view that Buell and Hodge want to challenge, namely that ethnicity is irrelevant to the question of whether one is a member of the people of God now that Christ has come. John M. G. Barclay, for instance, claims that Paul attempted to “create an ethos in which there was ‘nei-

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<sup>4</sup> For a recent example, see J.A. HARRILL, “Ethnic Fluidity in Ephesians”, *NTS* 60 (2014) 379-402, who claims that Buell is among the recent researchers who have been most helpful to his own perspective (p. 381, n. 6). See also D.G. HORRELL, “‘Race’, ‘Nation’, ‘People’. Ethnoracial Identity Construction in 1 Pet. 2.9”, *Becoming Christian. Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity* (LNTS 394; London 2013) 133-163.

<sup>5</sup> D.K. BUELL – C.J. HODGE, “The Politics of Interpretation. The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul”, *JBL* 132 (2004) 235-251.

<sup>6</sup> For a helpful and more general overview of the topic of ethnicity in biblical scholarship, see the three essays by D.M. MILLER: “Ethnicity, Religion and the Meaning of *Ioudaios* in Ancient ‘Judaism’”, *CBR* 12 (2014) 216-265; “Ethnicity Comes of Age. An Overview of Twentieth-Century Terms for *Ioudaios*”, *CBR* 10 (2012) 293-311; and “The Meaning of *Ioudaios* and its Relationship to Other Group Labels in Ancient ‘Judaism’”, *CBR* 9 (2010) 98-126.

ther Jew nor Greek”’, and where “ethnic identity was irrelevant”<sup>7</sup>. Barclay’s statement alludes to precisely Gal 3,26-29, a fact which suggests that this passage is a good focus of attention.

This essay contributes to the debate by entering into critical dialogue with some of Buell’s and Hodge’s main claims and premises. I begin by drawing attention to the fact that they base their case on observations that are open to an alternative interpretation, which has not been given adequate treatment by them. More specifically, I will argue that their case against a metaphorical interpretation of Paul is weak, in that it is based on a problematic understanding of what metaphors are. Turning to Galatians, I will attempt to demonstrate that, although Buell and Hodge correctly identify a paradox in Paul’s argument pertaining to his use of ethnic terminology, their own explanation of this paradox is unsatisfying. The essay ends with an attempt to approach the paradox in Paul’s argument from the perspective of a metaphorical reading of Paul. My claim is that this makes good sense of Paul’s argument, and that it also allows us to retain and re-articulate some of Buell’s and Hodge’s most important insights.

## II. Buell’s and Hodge’s Interpretation of Gal 3,26-29

A key premise in Buell’s and Hodge’s critique of the traditional view is their claim that notions of ethnicity are “social constructs” and thus “fluid”. They highlight that ethnic identity is a dynamic concept which is open to negotiation, reconstruction, and change: “instead of presupposing that ethnicity and race are fixed aspects of identity, we approach these concepts as dynamic social constructs”<sup>8</sup>. This open, dynamic and fluid notion of ethnicity has implications for how specific texts are interpreted. An implication of Buell’s and Hodge’s definition of ethnicity is that identity as a “Jew” and identity as “descendant of Abraham”, as these terms are used in Gal 3,26-29, are both ethnic identities.

This conclusion is possible since they both claim that putative physical kinship should not be considered default for ethnic identity. Rather, Buell writes that ethnicity has only one “necessary criterion”, and that is a “dynamic interplay between fixity and fluidity”<sup>9</sup>. Notably, Buell allows that the “fixed” part of this “dynamic interplay”

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<sup>7</sup> J.M.G. BARCLAY, “Paul among Diaspora Jews. Anomaly or Apostate?”, *JSNT* 60 (1995) 89-120, here 104.

<sup>8</sup> BUELL – HODGE, “Politics of Interpretation”, 236.

<sup>9</sup> BUELL, *Why This New Race?*, 9.

could be constructed with reference to many different aspects of identity. The fixity may or may not have anything to do with claims to kinship and descent, according to Buell. Also other things could be used to assert the fixity of ethnicity. Thus, even on the rhetorical level, claims to peoplehood need not have anything to do with shared kinship, whether physical or spiritual, according to Buell. If kinship is asserted by an author, the author does not need to claim that the kinship in question is physical in order for it to construct an identity that is properly called “ethnic”. It follows that both “Jew”, “Gentile” and “descendant of Abraham”, as these terms appear in Gal 3,26-29, fit Buell’s wide definition of ethnicity. Hodge cites Buell’s definition of ethnicity with approval, and writes as follows: “In contrast to more traditional models in which kinship and ethnicity are fixed, immutable aspects of identity, my view is that these constructs are dynamic discourses which incorporate both fixed and fluid components, even when there is tension among these”. Moreover, Hodge also rejects the view that putative physical kinship is default to ethnic identity<sup>10</sup>.

One implication of this redefinition of ethnicity is that the distinction between “ethnicity” and “religion” is blurred: “we see ethnicity and religion as intertwined and mutually constituting”<sup>11</sup>. More specifically, Buell and Hodge argue that Paul thought that religious practice could change one’s ethnic identity. Kinship ties that are created through faith, baptism and reception of the Holy Spirit must be taken as seriously as kinship ties based on putative shared blood lines. The kind of identity which results from baptism is not ethnically neutral, but specifically Jewish, in that non-Jews are brought in under a Judean umbrella. This does not imply, however, that non-Jews lose their former ethnic identities, for we can imagine different ethnic identities for one and the same person, organized in a hierarchy which determines which identity is to be prioritized<sup>12</sup>. To be “in Christ” is thus a freshly imagined, Judeo-ethnic identity, which is able to incorporate non-Jews too. It is not a non-ethnic identity which transcends all ethnic boundaries. This demonstrates that notions of ethnicity could be used for the purpose of developing “universalizing arguments”.

<sup>10</sup> HODGE, *If Sons*, 16, see in particular n. 89.

<sup>11</sup> For reference to all the claims attributed to Buell and Hodge in the ensuing paragraph, see BUELL – HODGE, “Politics of Interpretation”, 243-250.

<sup>12</sup> This is quite similar to P. Esler’s model of nested identities: P. ESLER, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*. The Social Setting of Paul’s Letter (Minneapolis, MN 2003) 49-50.

There is no inherent contradiction, in other words, between notions of ethnicity, on the one hand, and universal visions of identity, on the other.

When these presuppositions are brought to bear on Gal 3,26-29, traditional readings of Paul are challenged. For, according to Buell and Hodge, this passage does not portray ethnicity as something that is overcome in Christ, nor does the passage present ethnic identity as something fixed which is now irrelevant. Rather, the passage presents ethnicity and kinship as standing in a tension-filled relationship between fixed and fluid. On the one hand, there seems to be a fixed and real border separating Jews from non-Jews, and Paul’s argument reacts to that “problem”. However, on the other hand, the passage also claims that “descendant” is something that one can become through baptism. Paul’s “solution” to the problem is thus not to introduce a non-ethnic identity to replace ethnic divisions, but to point to the possibility of ethnic transformation: “Far from treating ethnicity as something merely fixed which Christ has broken, Paul portrays Christ as an agent of ethnic transformation”<sup>13</sup>.

Buell and Hodge are inspired by modern theorizing of ethnic identity, but they also claim that their definition of ethnicity corresponds to ancient points of view<sup>14</sup>. This claim is based on the observation that “ethnic” terminology is used in a variety of ways, and that it is employed to construct identity also for people who did not regard themselves as physically related. This openness is then supposed to explain why Paul could argue as he did: “His [i.e. Paul’s] argument presupposes that his audience can imagine ethnicity and kinship as fluid, despite his oppositional distinctions between Judean and gentile”<sup>15</sup>.

The argument thus seems to be moving from the observation that ethnic terminology is used flexibly in ancient texts, via the insight that notions of ethnicity are socially constructed, to a redefined notion of ethnicity. Based on this redefined notion of ethnicity, Paul’s argument is reassessed. Their conclusion is that Paul in Gal 3,26-29 employs a rhetoric of ethnic transformation, and that his audiences are presented as sharing in a specific ethnic identity.

Before turning to my critical points, it might be helpful to highlight some issues on which we seem to agree. Buell and Hodge should be commended for putting the question of ethnic language on

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<sup>13</sup> BUELL – HODGE, “Politics of Interpretation”, 245.

<sup>14</sup> BUELL, *Why this New Race?*, 6-7, draws, in particular, on the works of Ann Stoler and Gerd Baumann.

<sup>15</sup> BUELL – HODGE, “Politics of Interpretation”, 245.

the agenda of biblical scholars and historians of early church history. They persuasively demonstrate the centrality of ethnic language and concepts of kinship for the construction of identity within the early Jesus movement. I endorse their objection to depicting this as “fictive kinship”<sup>16</sup>, since that threatens to undermine the perceived reality of the kinship ties in question. It is certainly also true that every ancient and modern follower of Jesus would have to combine and negotiate his or her identity as being “in Christ” with other aspects of his or her identity, including ethnicity. I thus fully agree with the following statement: “Galatians 3,28 does not eliminate the various measures of identity — *Ioudaios*, Greek, slave, free, male, female — which characterize those who are ‘in Christ,’ but it places these in a hierarchical order with the unitary good on the top”<sup>17</sup>.

Moreover, Buell and Hodge are surely correct in maintaining that notions of ethnicity are “social constructs”. Everyone should concede, and I will take for granted as a shared premise in the following, that all statements about ethnicity involve a considerable amount of interpretation, and that notions of ethnicity are steeped in ideological presuppositions. This should alert us to the rhetorical uses of ethnic language, and it should make us pause before we take claims about the fixity of ethnicity as factual statements. We must assume that ancient claims to physical kinship could often have been ideologically constructed<sup>18</sup>. Finally, I agree that it is problematic to treat “Christianity” as “universal” since it is allegedly a “non-ethnic” phenomenon, as opposed to “Judaism” which is “particular” because it is based on ethnicity. Barclay, among others, has convincingly demonstrated that the picture is more complicated<sup>19</sup>. However, there are some issues that demand critical discussion.

### III. Mere Metaphor?

Buell’s and Hodge’s argument relies heavily on the assumption that the concept of ethnicity should be derived more or less directly from the use of ethnic terminology. However, as Buell and Hodge

<sup>16</sup> As is done, for instance, by BARCLAY, “Anomaly or Apostate”, 104.

<sup>17</sup> HODGE, *If Sons*, 130-131.

<sup>18</sup> SECHREST, *A Former Jew*, 37-41, argues that notions of common ancestry and shared history are always mythic and fictive, and that postulations about shared blood are illusory.

<sup>19</sup> J.M.G. BARCLAY, “Universalism and Particularism. Twin Components of Both Judaism and Early Christianity”, *A Vision for the Church*. Studies in Honour of J.P.M. Sweet (eds. M. BOCKMUEHL – M.B. THOMPSON) (Edinburgh 1997) 207-224.



are well aware, there is nothing new to the observation that ethnic terminology is used within the early Jesus movement to claim a shared identity for people who did not regard themselves to be physically related. The question is how this observation should be interpreted. An alternative interpretation to the one suggested by Buell and Hodge is that Paul's argument presupposes that his audience was capable of recognizing that he sometimes used ethnic terminology in a metaphorical way<sup>20</sup>. This interpretation also explains the fact in question, namely that terms related to kinship and peoplehood are used by Paul to construct a sense of identity. In order to sustain their own interpretation, Buell and Hodge thus have to refute a metaphorical interpretation of the ancient texts which they draw attention to.

The possibility that ethnic language is used in a metaphorical way by Paul, or in other texts stemming from the early Jesus movement, is not discussed at any great length in either Buell's or Hodge's works, but it is still rejected by both. Buell claims that taking the ethnic terms in question as being metaphors would be inadequate, since it does not take seriously the fact that the texts in question claim membership in a real people for their audiences. Buell recognizes that Justin, among others, emphasizes that there is a fundamental distinction between his notion of a kinship that is mediated through faith and one that is physically mediated (*Dial.* 135.5-6)<sup>21</sup>. But she still maintains that "these differences cannot be neatly mapped in terms of literal to metaphorical since what is at stake is the real Israel"<sup>22</sup>. Buell also fears that a metaphorical interpretation of Paul would lead us to overlook or downplay the fact that Paul forged notions of identity that were socio-politically embedded and ritually enacted. She points to interpretive grids that see Christianity as a religion rather than as an ethnicity, and claims that this way of conceptualizing things implies that "Christian self-definition as a *genos*, *ethnos* or *laos* is more likely to be ignored or explained as 'mere' metaphor, rather than in terms of sociopolitical embeddedness"<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> HODGE (*If Sons*, 17) does discuss the power of kinship metaphors, but, as we will see, she rejects the possibility that Paul's use of kinship terminology should be classified as metaphorical.

<sup>21</sup> S. STOWERS argues that Buell, in lumping these two notions of kinship together, "denies Justin distinctions that he makes and that most people in his time would have understood" (review of D.K. BUELL, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity*. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 75 [2007] 729).

<sup>22</sup> BUELL, *Why this New Race?*, 102.

<sup>23</sup> BUELL, *Why this New Race?*, 62.

Hodge expresses similar views, claiming that “for Paul, kinship and ethnicity cannot be merely metaphorical, for lineage, paternity and peoplehood are the salient categories for describing one’s status before the God of Israel”. On the next page, she claims that “notions of peoplehood and paternity are by no means rejected, downplayed, or even metaphorized by Paul; instead they are central to his gospel and crucial to his argument”<sup>24</sup>. The implication of the dichotomy Hodge here creates seems to be that metaphorical language cannot have been central to Paul’s gospel or crucial to his argument. In their co-authored study, Buell and Hodge thus argue that the kind of kinship that flows from belief, baptism, and the work of the Spirit is portrayed as being “even more real” than kinship constituted on the basis of shared blood. They then go on to claim, in the same sentence, that “it is a mistake to interpret Paul’s rhetoric in terms of a mere metaphor”<sup>25</sup>.

This argument against a metaphorical interpretation of the terms in question seems confused, in that it is based on false dichotomies. It is evident that Paul depicts the Galatians as standing in a real relationship with God, Christ and Abraham. However, this observation does nothing to clarify whether Paul used metaphors to articulate the reality of these relationships. The opposition Buell and Hodge construct between metaphorical and real seems to be a reaction against the habit of speaking of Jesus’ followers as members of “fictive” kinship groups<sup>26</sup>. Although I share their critique of the phrase “fictive kinship”, there is no reason to let that problematic phrase determine how metaphors are conceptualized. There is also no reason to claim that an identity which is socio-politically embedded and ritually enacted cannot be expressed by means of a metaphor. Use of metaphorical language does not suggest a departure from reality; it is rather a way of using language to describe, interpret and discover the nature of reality, as this reality is experienced by specific people. The dichotomies which determine Buell’s and Hodge’s rejection of a metaphorical interpretation of Paul seem to surface in the use of the phrase “mere metaphor”, which suggests that metaphorical statements are something less than real and important claims which have a genuine impact on, and are genuinely shaped by, social realities<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> HODGE, *If Sons*, 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> BUELL – HODGE, “Politics of Interpretation”, 245.

<sup>26</sup> Thus, for instance, BARCLAY, “Anomaly or Apostate”, 104.

<sup>27</sup> Similar devaluating statements are also made by other authors who share some of Buell’s views. Stowers writes, in appraisal of Buell, that to read early

## IV. Describing the Problem: The Paradox in Paul’s Argument

Before we can discuss whether the solution is a reworked notion of ethnicity, as Buell and Hodge propose, or a metaphorical reading of Paul, as I will propose, we need to describe the problem these proposals are supposed to solve. Buell and Hodge helpfully describe the problem in terms of a paradox in Paul’s argument, pertaining to the fact that Paul seems to articulate both the problem and the solution in terms of kinship and ethnicity. The division between Jews and Greeks represents a problem for Paul, something that needs to be overcome. However, Paul paradoxically frames the solution to this problem in terms of ethnicity and kinship — what matters is being a son of God and a descendant of Abraham. Buell and Hodge interpret this paradox as implying that the Galatians were able to imagine kinship and ethnicity as both fixed and fluid, and that Paul could thus appeal to both the fixity and fluidity of ethnic identity in one and the same argument. The alleged ambivalence in the very concept “ethnicity” — its capacity to embody ideas about both fixity and fluidity — is thus called upon as the explanation of the paradox.

In evaluating this solution, I find it pertinent to start by emphasizing that I agree that a good definition of “ethnicity” should be able to account for the phenomenon of conversion. Buell and Hodge argue persuasively that in antiquity conversion to the Jewish people should be understood as a social and collective phenomenon, and not in individualistic terms. It is thus plausible to interpret the possibility of conversion to the Jewish people in terms of acquired kinship. One is adopted, as it were, into a new people group, and there one receives a new collective identity<sup>28</sup>. It is thus misleading to think of conversion to the Jewish people as merely a religious phenomenon, which gave birth to a non-ethnic identity<sup>29</sup>. There thus seems initially to be some probability to Buell’s and Hodge’s

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Christian claims to peoplehood as “*mere* metaphor is not to take these texts seriously” (STOWERS, review of BUELL, 729).

<sup>28</sup> I do not think that this implies that one has to leave behind an understanding of ethnicity that foregrounds putative shared physical kinship. It seems possible to argue that physical descent is the default criterion of membership, while conversion represents the exception which proves the rule. Analogously to the way in which the possibility of adoption does not invalidate the importance of physical kinship for family ties, I would argue that the same holds with regard to conversion in relation to ethnic identity.

<sup>29</sup> With BUELL (*Why this New Race?*, 158-164). Contra S.J.D. COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*. Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties (Berkeley, CA 1999) 109-110.

suggestion that Paul could have solved the problem in Galatia by drawing attention to how his non-Jewish audience could acquire a new ethnic identity through a ritual of conversion.

Yet, there are also some problems with this view. If this is really what Paul wanted to argue, one wonders why he so vehemently rejected the possibility that the Galatians should undergo circumcision (5,1-12; 6,11-18). After all, circumcision would probably have been recognized as the way of including non-Jewish males into the Jewish people. The solution Buell and Hodge attribute to Paul, i.e., that it is possible for non-Jews to come in under a Judean umbrella via conversion, thus seems to be curiously similar to the solution Paul in Galatians attributes to his opponents. Moreover, had Paul wanted to argue for the solution Buell and Hodge attribute to him, we would have expected baptism to be a ritual that was only relevant for non-Jews. If the division between Jews and non-Jews is overcome by non-Jews acquiring a new ethnic identity, thereby coming in under a Judean umbrella, then the solution to the problem would not have affected the standing of Jews <sup>30</sup>.

There are, in fact, some Pauline scholars who have suggested that Paul wrote only for non-Jews, and that this shaped his message <sup>31</sup>. Hodge explicitly endorses this view <sup>32</sup>. However, the key question for our purposes now is not whether or not Jews are addressed in Paul's letters, but whether Paul's message has implications also for Jewish identity. For the present purposes, the question may focus on whether Paul seems to hold that also Jews need to be baptized. Good reasons suggest that he did <sup>33</sup>. The claim that because of baptism there is "nei-

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. HODGE (*If Sons*, 67): "By presenting baptism as new kinship, Paul crafts a myth of collective identity for gentiles; they can trace their beginnings not only to their baptism into Christ but also to their ancestor, Abraham, in whose seed they were blessed. Baptism into Christ creates an aggregative connection between gentiles and Jews".

<sup>31</sup> J.G. GAGER, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*. Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity (New York 1983); L. GASTON, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver 1987); P. EISENBAUM, *Paul was not a Christian*. The Original Message of the Misunderstood Apostle (New York 2009). S. STOWERS, (*A Rereading of Romans*. Justice, Jews, and Gentiles [New Haven, Conn, 1994] 21-33), distinguishes between the empirical reader and the encoded reader, and argues that the encoded readers are non-Jews.

<sup>32</sup> HODGE, *If Sons*, 9-11.

<sup>33</sup> Evidence from Acts, if it counts for anything, suggests that also Jews were baptized within the early Jesus movement (cf. 2,36-41). Indeed, Paul himself is also said to have been baptized directly after his encounter with Jesus on the road to Damascus (9,18).

ther Jew nor Greek” in Christ seems to assume that both Jews and Greeks have clothed themselves with Christ in baptism<sup>34</sup>. If Jews had not clothed themselves with Christ in baptism, there would be no need to emphasize that there is neither Jew nor Greek among those who are baptized. Paul’s emphasis on the fact that all have become one demands an inclusive understanding of baptism<sup>35</sup>. Thus, even if Paul’s argument is prompted by the question of how non-Jews could be included in Abraham’s covenant, Paul’s solution has implications also for Jews. The case for the view that also Jews need to be baptized, according to Paul, receives strong confirmation by a statement in 1 Cor 12,13, which is strikingly similar to Gal 3,28: “For in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, slaves or free persons, and we were all given to drink of one Spirit”<sup>36</sup>. If both Gal 3,28 and 1 Cor 12,13 allude to a baptismal formula, as many scholars assume<sup>37</sup>, it would be strong evidence for a baptismal practice which included Jews as well as non-Jews<sup>38</sup>.

If Paul held that Jews too needed to be baptized, this speaks against the solution Buell and Hodge attribute to Paul. One could argue, however, that Paul in Galatians constructs an entirely new ethnic identity for the followers of Jesus, which is neither Jewish nor Greek, but which is still ethnic. Love Sechrest has adopted this position<sup>39</sup>. Yet, as Buell and Hodge correctly argue, this interpretation fails to account for the fact that Jews, according to Paul, belong more naturally to Abraham’s descendants than do non-Jews<sup>40</sup>. Although Paul unambiguously affirms that both Jews and non-Jews have become members of Abraham’s covenant (Gal 3,7.28), this does not necessarily imply that Paul constructs a new people from scratch.

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<sup>34</sup> SECHREST, *A Former Jew*, 196-197, argues persuasively that even if Gal 3,26-29 is primarily addressed to non-Jews, what is said pertains to Jews as well.

<sup>35</sup> On this emphasis, see D.G. HORRELL, *Solidarity and Difference. A Contemporary Reading of Paul’s Ethics* (London 2005) 105-106.

<sup>36</sup> A.C. THISELTON, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI 2000) 997.

<sup>37</sup> For a helpful summary of the arguments in favor of a baptismal formula, see M.D. BOER, *Galatians. A Commentary* (NTS; Louisville, KY 2011) 245-247.

<sup>38</sup> R.E. CIAMPA – B.S. ROSNER, *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (The Pillar New Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI 2010) 595.

<sup>39</sup> SECHREST, *A Former Jew*, 15.

<sup>40</sup> For a helpful engagement with, and in my opinion also a convincing refutation of, some of Sechrest’s more radical claims, see N.T. WRIGHT, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God. Parts III and IV* (vol. 4 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God* [London 2013]) 1448-1449.

Instead, Paul seems to argue that non-Jews — surprisingly and contrary to nature — have been included into the covenant that hitherto only included Jews, even though that covenant had always intended to include the nations <sup>41</sup>. That Paul held that Jews belong more naturally to the covenant than non-Jews seems to be confirmed by Paul's statement in Gal 2,15, where he speaks of himself and Peter as being Jews by nature, in contrast to Gentile sinners. The prerogative of the Jews is even more clearly spelled out in Rom 11,17-24, developed by means of the metaphor of an olive tree on which some branches are said to belong naturally while others need to be grafted in <sup>42</sup>. There remains an aspect of asymmetry in Paul's thinking, pertaining to the way in which Jews and non-Jews are said to belong to Abraham's family, which is not adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that Paul reconstructs Abraham's family as an entirely new ethnic group.

#### V. Metaphors: Some Presuppositions

The question, then, is whether a metaphorical interpretation of Paul would help us interpret the paradox in Paul's argument, pointed out by Buell and Hodge. In order to explore this question, I need to explicate how I will use the term "metaphor". I understand "metaphor", in its broad sense, to be the act of understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another. The process of metaphorization is creative, in that it pushes towards new understandings and results in fresh meaning <sup>43</sup>. A metaphorical statement cannot be reduced to a paraphrase where only one conceptual domain is drawn upon, since it is the very interaction between two conceptual domains that creates the meaning for which the metaphorical statement is a carrier. This also implies that metaphorical statements are not correctly understood as mere ornaments of language that substitute for real or true meaning, since the meaning in question results from the interaction between

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<sup>41</sup> For a more elaborate discussion on how Paul affirms the inclusion of non-Jews into the covenant, while also maintaining that there remains a special situation for ethnic Israel, see O.J. FILTVEDT, "'God's Israel' in Galatians 6.16. An Overview and Assessment of the Key Arguments", *CBR* (2017) forthcoming.

<sup>42</sup> BUELL – HODGE, "Politics of Interpretation", 249.

<sup>43</sup> This does not conflict with the fact that metaphors permeate everyday language, or with the fact that some metaphors become so conventional that we easily overlook their metaphorical nature. These two observations are highlighted in G. LAKOFF – M. JOHNSON, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, IL 1980).

two conceptual realms. If one of these conceptual domains is muted or taken away, the meaning is changed or lost <sup>44</sup>.

A basic premise for this understanding of metaphors is thus that it is possible to identify conceptual domains, with their own related semantic networks. Such conceptual domains should be understood as specifically tied to the cultural and historical context within which a given language is used. The identification of such domains should therefore be understood as a pragmatic aspect of how a given language tends to be used, rather than as an absolute claim about how reality is objectively structured in certain domains <sup>45</sup>.

It is to be observed, at the outset, that a metaphorical interpretation of ethnic terms in Paul presupposes that the concept of ethnicity is understood to have certain borders. In the absence of such borders, it is obviously impossible for Paul to transcend them. It seems that both Buell and Hodge conceptualize ethnicity in a way that makes it difficult to discuss where the borders of the concept of ethnicity are supposed to be. Buell writes as follows: "The conceptualization that I have adopted in this book of race and ethnicity as being characterized by both fixity and fluidity suits the prismatic approach because it highlights the shapeshifting instantiations of these complexly interrelated concepts without insisting that they have any intrinsic essence. 'Religion' shares this shapeshifting quality with ethnicity and race. There are no intrinsic borders among these concepts" <sup>46</sup>. Hodge, by contrast, writes that "while ethnicity and kinship are flexible constructs, they are not infinitely malleable" <sup>47</sup>. I fail to see, however, that Hodge anywhere addresses the question of how to locate the boundaries of the concept of ethnicity. Both Buell and Hodge seem persistently to focus on the fluid, flexible, discursive and dynamic aspects of ethnicity.

Another way to put this would be to say that Buell and Hodge fail

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<sup>44</sup> P. Ricoeur was a pioneer in articulating a theory of metaphors based on the interaction between conceptual domains, and his classic study from 1975 remains an influential point of departure for a theoretical discussion of metaphors today. P. RICOEUR, *The Rule of Metaphor: The Creation of Meaning in Language* (London – New York 2006).

<sup>45</sup> In other words, to claim that languages have conceptual realms with certain "borders" does not entail the claim that one is able, at any given moment, to identify precisely where those borders are. Note how Stowers criticizes what he calls "the positivistic assumption that clear distinction between concepts could not be made unless all borderline cases had been adjudicated" (review of BUELL, 730).

<sup>46</sup> BUELL, *Why this New Race?*, 168.

<sup>47</sup> HODGE, *If Sons*, endnote 96 on page 162.



to make a clear distinction between the question of how ethnicity should be conceptualized and the further question of how ethnic terms are used. The conceptualization of ethnicity seems rather to flow quite directly from the way in which ethnic terms are used. The logic seems to be as follows: if ethnic terms are used as part of a rhetoric which highlights mobility and identity transformation, this means that ethnicity as a concept must be understood to be flexible and fluid. Thus, there is no tension between the rhetoric of ethnicity and the definition of ethnicity, since the latter is directly derived from the former. Metaphors, by contrast, derive their force precisely in the tension between how a given concept is normally understood within a given cultural context and the way the concept is employed for rhetorical purposes.

## VI. Reconsidering a Metaphorical Reading of Paul

If we turn now to Paul's argument in Gal 3,26-29, we can begin by observing that it includes the following train of thought. If someone is baptized, he or she is in Christ. If someone is in Christ, he or she is Abraham's descendant. If someone is a descendant of Abraham, he or she is heir according to the promise. A crucial question is thus what Paul means by the phrase "descendant of Abraham". In order to address this question, I find it helpful to turn to Gal 4,21-31, where Paul explores the deeper significance of the fact that Abraham had two sons<sup>48</sup>. One of these sons, the one born of the slave woman, represents slavery. The other son, the one born of the free woman, represents freedom. The two sons stand for two different covenants. The son of the slave woman stands for the covenant at Sinai, and the earthly Jerusalem, whereas the one born of the free woman represents the Jerusalem above. There is also a difference between the two sons, pertaining to the way they were born: "The son of the slave woman was born according to the flesh (*κατὰ σάρκα*), the son of the freeborn through a promise (*δι' ἐπαγγελίας*)" (Gal 4,23)<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> For defense of the presupposition that Gal 4,21-31 develops the claims of Gal 3,26-29, see BOER, *Galatians*, 305.

<sup>49</sup> My translation. J.L. MARTYN, *Galatians. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A; New York 1997) 435-436, helpfully demonstrates how being born *κατὰ σάρκα* carries multiple meanings. On one level, it simply refers to birth by means of the "natural power of procreation", i.e. physical birth. However, on another level, the term "flesh" obviously also carries negative connotations, suggesting a mode of existence which is according to the norms of the present evil age (Gal 1,4). In all probability, Paul also intends an indirect

If one relates Paul’s argument strictly to Isaac and Ishmael, the distinction in question cannot have anything to do with physical birth as opposed to some other kind of birth, since both Isaac and Ishmael seem to have been born in the same way <sup>50</sup>. However, Paul does not restrict the distinction in question to Isaac and Ishmael; he uses Abraham’s two sons as representatives for contemporary people groups, ascribing an allegorical significance to the distinction between the births of Isaac and Ishmael (Gal 4,24). The distinction between Abraham’s two sons, and the ways in which they were born, corresponds to groups of people who now stand in a social conflict: “But just as then the child of the flesh persecuted the child of the Spirit, it is the same now” (Gal 4,29). In light of the larger context in Galatians, there can hardly be any doubt that the persecution in question, carried out by the “child of the flesh”, must refer to the persecution of the Jesus movement carried out by Jewish groups (cf. Gal 1,13.23; 5,11; 6,12) <sup>51</sup>. This implies that the “child of flesh” is identified as Jewish <sup>52</sup>. In light of Paul’s argument in Gal 3,1-14, the child of the Spirit must include the non-Jewish Galatians. To be born of the Spirit is thus not a matter of belonging to the correct physical lineage from Abraham — the one through Isaac as opposed to the one through Ishmael. It is rather a matter of having received the Spirit, thereby participating in the kind of sonship which Isaac allegorically represents in contrast to Ishmael <sup>53</sup>.

Although Paul does not make this explicit in Gal 3,29, it is thus evident that he is able to imagine two different interpretations of the phrase “descendant of Abraham”. The phrase could be taken to refer to all those who are descendants of Abraham according to the flesh. An understanding of descent from Abraham, according to which one has to be Jewish to be counted as heir of the promises given to him, would explain why the Galatians were under pressure to join the Jewish people through circumcision, and it would also explain why Paul found it necessary to convince his non-Jewish audience that they were already descendants of Abraham. In other words, Paul’s rhetoric in

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reference to the fact that his opponents wanted to use circumcision “on the flesh” (Gal 6,13) as a way of identifying the family of Abraham.

<sup>50</sup> Correctly pointed out by J.D.G. DUNN, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London 1993) 247.

<sup>51</sup> MARTYN, *Galatians*, 444-445, suggests that Paul might be referring specifically to persecution carried out by “false brothers” (cf. 2,4).

<sup>52</sup> Paul also elsewhere refers to his relationship to fellow Jews as being through the flesh (Rom 9,3-5).

<sup>53</sup> BOER, *Galatians*, 305.

Gal 3,26-29 seems to make sense only as a reaction against another well-known interpretation of what it takes to be reckoned as a descendant of Abraham, focused on the importance of physical kinship<sup>54</sup>. As a contrast to this interpretation of descent from Abraham, Paul argues that his non-Jewish addressees are descendants of Abraham in so far as they have been baptized. Paul also emphasizes that this does not imply that the Galatians have become or should become Jews. For, Paul argues, in Christ — and thus also among the descendants of Abraham — there is neither Jew nor Greek.

Paul's use of the phrase "descendant of Abraham" in Gal 3,29, in connection with his larger argument, thus hinges on Paul's specific understanding of what kind of birth makes one a descendant of Abraham. Only those who are born through a promise (Gal 4,23) and according to the Spirit (Gal 4,29) are really descendants of Abraham and heirs to the promises (Gal 4,30). Even if Paul's notion of birth "through a promise" and "according to the Spirit" obviously departs from the ordinary experience of birth, it also logically presupposes it, in that Paul invites his addressees to think of what happened to them as they believed God's promises and received the Spirit (Gal 3,1-14) in terms of what happens to someone who is born. This could accurately be described as a metaphor.

To argue that Paul metaphorizes concepts of birth and kinship in no way entails the claim that Paul denigrates the reality of the change which God's promises occasioned in the lives of his audience as they received the Spirit. Nor does this interpretation imply that one distinguishes between socially constructed identities on the one hand and naturally given identities on the other. There is also nothing in this interpretation that would suggest that claims concerning descent according to the flesh are somehow neutral or factual statements, exempt from ideological criticism<sup>55</sup>. I also fail to see how this reading would make birth and kinship less central to Paul's argument, or that it would threaten the reality of the relationship Paul depicts between the Galatians and Abraham.

Paul clearly does describe a real and socially significant process of change, but that process is interpreted and understood by means of a different conceptual domain, namely that of birth. In using language of birth in a way that departs from ordinary usage, and by applying it

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<sup>54</sup> B. HANSEN, '*All of You Are One*'. The Social Vision of Gal 3.28, 1 Cor 12.13 and Col 3.11 (LNTS 409; London 2010) 98-103.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. BUELL's prudent comments in *Why this New Race?*, 208-209, n. 41.

to a phenomenon that lies outside the conceptual domain of birth, Paul invites his audience to consider the ways in which their own experience is both similar to and different from what they otherwise know about the concept of birth. The tension thus created, between similar and different, is the locus of the metaphor's potential to create and convey meaning. The meaning created in Galatians is a re-imagined conception of the kind of identity one shares as member of Abraham's covenant and family. By claiming that the audience are really descendants of Abraham (Gal 3,29), while also maintaining a very specific interpretation of what this does and does not mean (Gal 4,21-31), Paul forces his audience to consider the ways in which they stand in a position which is both similar to and different from someone who putatively did descend physically from Abraham.

Finally, it is also important to emphasize that a metaphorical interpretation of Paul's use of kinship language in no way implies the irrelevance of ethnicity for identity in Christ. Quite to the contrary, I would actually argue that a metaphorical reading of Paul allows us to retain and rearticulate several of Buell's and Hodge's legitimate concerns regarding the significance of ethnic reasoning for identity as followers of Jesus. According to my understanding of metaphors, they are characterized by an interaction between two conceptual domains. This interaction is constitutive of the meaning for which the metaphorical statement is a carrier, the implication of which is that one cannot silence one of the conceptual domains of the metaphor without loss of meaning. Metaphors, in other words, cannot be reduced to paraphrases that spell out their "real" meaning in clear language. However, if this is a true description of what metaphors are, it implies that Buell and Hodge are correct in at least two regards. First of all, they are correct to argue that Paul's construction of identity in Christ is irreducibly bound up with notions of ethnicity. One cannot simply put notions of kinship, peoplehood and blood lines to one side, if one wants to understand what it means, according to Paul, to be in Christ. Second of all, they are correct to argue that there is something irreducibly Jewish about the kind of identity a person, according to Paul, shares in Christ. One cannot, without serious loss of meaning, overlook the fact that claiming identity as a "descendant of Abraham" anchors one firmly within a specifically Jewish tradition <sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>56</sup> Helpfully emphasized by HODGE, *If Sons*, 131.

## VII. Does the Metaphorical Interpretation Solve Any Problems?

One might legitimately wonder whether a metaphorical interpretation of ethnic terms in Galatians solves any problems, or whether this is just a discussion about modern terminology and concepts. In response to this possible objection, I would like to point to three important ways in which a metaphorical reading seems to provide better answers to problems in Paul than does the framework of Buell and Hodge.

First, on a metaphorical reading, we do not have to posit ethnicity as a self-contradicting concept in order to explain the tensions in Paul's argument. In Buell's and Hodge's interpretation, Paul would first have to convince his audience that ethnicity is fixed enough to create real problems for the Galatians, and then he would have to make them believe that ethnicity is also fluid enough so that these problems can be solved in terms of ethnic mobility. Although it is possible to imagine concepts which can be perceived to be both fluid and fixed at the same time, without the fluidity undermining the fixity, it is also a difficulty. Concepts preferably lack internal contradictions or unresolved tensions. There is no difficulty whatsoever, however, in imagining that language pertaining to one conceptual domain could be used outside the borders of that conceptual domain in order to create new meaning. Language is used in this way all the time, and the tension thus created is a resource rather than a problem, in that it allows language to be used in new and creative ways. Thus, a metaphorical reading of Paul more easily explains the paradox Buell and Hodge correctly draw attention to.

Second, a metaphorical reading of Paul offers us a better explanation as to why Paul opposed the claim that the Galatians should be circumcised, than does the framework of Buell and Hodge. If Paul was trying to create a concept of collective identity which was both similar to and yet also different from current notions of being a people, this explains why he thought that it was a bad idea for the Galatians to undergo a ritual which would have rendered them, in the eyes of their contemporaries, as members of the Jewish people. If, on the other hand, Paul tried to solve the problem in Galatians in terms of ethnic mobility, thereby allowing non-Jews to come in under a Judean umbrella, as Buell and Hodge propose, it seems that circumcision would have accomplished just this.

Third, a metaphorical reading of Paul better explains why also Jews had to be baptized according to Paul. If baptism functions as a ritual of ethnic transformation, and if the goal is to bring non-Jews in under a Judean umbrella, then baptism would not have been relevant for Jews. If, however, baptism initiates one into a collective identity which is both

similar to, and yet also different from, that of the Jewish people, then it makes perfect sense that also Jews have to undergo baptism.

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This essay dialogues with Buell and Hodge on the question of how to interpret ethnic reasoning in Paul, with particular emphasis on Gal 3,26-29. Despite some significant agreements, I have also presented some critique of their assumptions and conclusions. I have pointed out that Buell and Hodge base their case on observations that are open to an alternative interpretation to the one they suggest, but that they have failed to give this alternative interpretation adequate treatment<sup>57</sup>. Their refutation of a metaphorical interpretation of ethnic terminology in Paul is unconvincing, in that it is based on false dichotomies and an under-theorized conception of what metaphors are. These theoretical and methodological shortcomings influence their reading of Paul. I have argued that Buell and Hodge helpfully detect a paradox in Paul’s argument, pertaining to his use of kinship language, but that their explanation of this paradox fails to convince. I then tried to demonstrate that a metaphorical reading of Paul does not lead us into the kinds of problems that Buell and Hodge claim. Moreover, I have also argued that a metaphorical reading of Paul has certain interpretive advantages compared to the framework proposed by Buell and Hodge. First, a metaphorical reading of Paul explains the paradox Buell and Hodge point to in a better way than the solution they propose, and it also allows us to retain and rearticulate some of their key concerns and keen insights. Second, a metaphorical reading of Paul better explains why Paul so vehemently rejected the claim that the Galatians should undergo circumcision — a question which seems difficult to answer on the reading of Buell and Hodge. Third, a metaphorical reading of Paul better explains why also Jews should be baptized, according to Paul. This question too seems difficult to answer within the framework of Buell and Hodge.

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<sup>57</sup> This judgment is shared by E.S. Gruen who claims that Buell “dismisses too readily the possibility that such terminology could be employed metaphorically: review of D.K. BUELL, *Why this New Race?* Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity, *CBQ* 72 (2010) 366.

## Summary

This article engages critically with some recent re-interpretations of ethnic language in Paul, as represented by D.K. Buell and C.J. Hodge. I begin by arguing that their case against a metaphorical interpretation of Paul is weak, in that it is based on a problematic understanding of what metaphors are. Turning to Galatians, I attempt to demonstrate that, although Buell and Hodge correctly identify a paradox in Paul's argument pertaining to his use of ethnic terminology, their own explanation of this paradox is unsatisfying. The essay ends with an attempt to approach the paradox in Paul's argument from the perspective of a metaphorical reading of Paul.



## ANIMADVERSIONES

### “From God” or “from Heaven”? ἐξ ὕψους in Luke 1,78

The metaphor that brings the Lukan *Benedictus* to a close has long been considered a *crux interpretum* and has received extensive treatment, with few assured results<sup>1</sup>. The text reads as follows:

διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν  
ἐν οἷς ἐπισκέπεται ἡμᾶς ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους (1,78)  
ἐπιφάνει τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις  
τοῦ κατευθύνει τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης (1,79)

This text has featured significantly in research on the source(s) and community of origin of the *Benedictus*, its original language(s) of composition, the canonical author's use of the Septuagint in the Infancy Narrative more broadly, messianic implications of the hymn itself, and much more. While some have argued that the referent of the metaphor is the coming of the messianic age in a more abstract sense, the vast majority of scholars hold that the coming of the ἀνατολή (the primary source domain or vehicle of the metaphor) instead takes some kind of *personal* figure as its referent, given the use of ἐπισκέπτομαι and κατευθύνω, both of which take a personal subject<sup>2</sup>. Taking the metaphor purely as an abstraction for an age would strain the grammar. The locus of the debate, then, has been the identity and significance of this personal ἀνατολή. Yet earlier scholarship on this metaphor has been divided on how to take the significant prepositional phrase that modifies ἀνατολή, namely, the final two words of 1,78, ἐξ ὕψους (ὕψους is the neuter genitive singular of ὕψος). This short study aims to contribute to the discussion by making clear how these words *must* be taken in the context of 1,78-79, which in turn will prompt possible implications for the broader task of exegesis of this intriguing passage.

Scholarly approaches to ἐξ ὕψους in 1,78 have been sharply divided into two camps. Numerous scholars interpret ὕψος as a circumlocution for God, taking ἐκ in the sense of personal origination (BDAG 297, 3.d.α). Proponents of this view suggest that the phrase means “from the Most High” or “from

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<sup>1</sup> A. JACOBY, “ANATOLH EΞ ΥΨΟΥΣ [Luke 1:78]”, *ZNW* 20 (1921) 205-214; M. LAMBERTZ, “Sprachliches aus Septuaginta und Neuen Testament: I, Ev. Luc. 1:78b: ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους”, *WZUL* 3 (1952/53) 79-87; P. WINTER, “Two Notes on Luke I, II with Regard to the Theory of ‘Imitation Hebraisms’”, (I) ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους”, *ST* 7 (1953) 158-164; and S.J. GATHERCOLE, “The Heavenly ἀνατολή (Luke 1:78-79)”, *JTS* 56/2 (2005) 471-488; M. del CARMEN ORO, “Benedictus de Zacarias (Luc 1,68-79): ¿Indicios de una cristología arcaica?”, *Revista Bíblica* 45 (1983) 145-177; S. MUÑOZ IGLESIAS, *Los Evangelios de la Infancia I: Los Cánticos del Evangelio de la Infancia según San Lucas* (Madrid<sup>2</sup>1990) 231-241.

<sup>2</sup> The former always takes a personal subject, and the latter 60 out of 63 times in NT/LXX.

God”; thus, the expression ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους takes as its referent the provision of some sort of personal figure by God himself, as the figure’s *Herkunft* or sending agent<sup>3</sup>. Other scholars interpret ἐξ ὕψους in a locative sense, with ἐκ denoting location/direction from which something comes (BDAG 296, 2 and 3.g). Proponents of this view suggest that the phrase means “from upon high” or “from heaven”; thus, the source domain maps to the visitation of the figure from heaven, the *Wohnsitz* of God<sup>4</sup>. Several others avoid the discussion altogether or spend little time on this particular phrase<sup>5</sup>. While del Carmen Oro suggests that both options are “perfectly possible”<sup>6</sup>, I will argue that all relevant lexical and semantic data point in the direction of the latter, and that arguments for the former likely stem from a confusion of two words (ὕψος and ὑψιστος) which are semantically distinct. From there I will turn to a brief discussion of the exegetical implications of this distinction.

The case for “from God” is typically based on the observation that similar phrasing is used elsewhere in Luke’s gospel, as follows:

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 1,32  | υἱὸς <u>ὑψίστου</u> κληθήσεται               |
| 1,35  | δύναμις <u>ὑψίστου</u>                       |
| 1,76  | προφῆτης <u>ὑψίστου</u> κληθήσῃ              |
| 1,78  | ἀνατολή <u>ἐξ ὕψους</u>                      |
| 2,14  | δόξα ἐν <u>ὑψίστοις</u> θεῶ                  |
| 6,35  | υἱοὶ <u>ὑψίστου</u>                          |
| 8,28  | Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ <u>τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου</u>        |
| 19,38 | ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα <u>ἐν ὑψίστοις</u> |
| 24,49 | ἐνδύσηθε <u>ἐξ ὕψους</u> δύναμιν             |

<sup>3</sup> JACOBY, “ANATOΛΗ”, 107; A. HARNACK, “Das Magnificat der Elisabeth (Luk. i. 46–55) nebst einigen Bemerkungen zu Luk. i and ii”, *Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche, I. Zur neutestamentlichen Textkritik* (Leipzig 1931) 62–85 (77); A. SCHLATTER, *Das Evangelium des Lukas* (Stuttgart <sup>2</sup>1960) 177–178; LAMBERTZ, “Sprachliches”, 83; H. SCHLIER, “ἀνατέλλω, ἀνατολή”, *TDNT* 1, 351–353; M. RESE, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* (SNT 1; Gütersloh 1969) 181; U. MITTMANN-RICHERT, *Magnifikat und Benediktus. Die ältesten Zeugnisse der judenchristlichen Tradition von der Geburt des Messias* (WUNT 1/90; Tübingen 1996) 127; R.E. BROWN, *The Birth of the Messiah. A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (ABRL; New York <sup>2</sup>1993) 368–373; W. WIEFEL, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (THKNT; Berlin 1998) 65; R. VINSON, *Luke* (Macon 2008) 50.

<sup>4</sup> J. GNILKA, “Der Hymnus des Zacharias”, *BZ* 6 (1962) 215–238; G. VOSS, *Die Christologie der lukanischen Schriften in Grundzügen* (StudNeot 2; Paris 1965) 69–72; E. KLOSTERMANN, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen <sup>3</sup>1975) 28–29; J.A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX* (AB 28; New York 1981) 387; F. BOVON, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas. 1. Teilband Lk 1,1 – 9,50* (EKKNT 3; Zürich 1989) 96; J. NOLLAND, *Luke 1,1 – 9,20* (WBC 35A; Dallas, TX 1989) 90; D. BOCK, *Proclamation from Prophecy to Pattern* (JSNTSup 12; Sheffield 1987) 72–73; J. KREMER, *Lukasevangelium* (NEchtB 3; Würzburg 1998) 34; M. WOLTER, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HzNT 5; Tübingen 2008) 117.

<sup>5</sup> J. Green, H. Klein, R. Laurentin, I.H. Marshall, R. Tannehill.

<sup>6</sup> “Benedictus”, 169.

In particular, Jesus is called “son of the Most High” in 1,32, while John is called the “prophet of the Most High” in 1,76; later all believers are called the “sons of the Most High” in 6,35, while Jesus is again called “son of God Most High” in 8,28<sup>7</sup>. In each of these cases, ὑψιστος clearly functions as a circumlocution for God himself. Based on these apparently strong parallels in Luke as well as in other literature<sup>8</sup>, scholars in this camp conclude that the ἀνατολή is likewise “from God Most High” — taking ὕψος as a reference specifically to God (or a “Hypostase des Gottesnamens”<sup>9</sup>) as the personal sender of the ἀνατολή. A minority of scholars has even gone so far as to conclude that ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους refers not to Jesus but to John the Baptist, due to the seemingly parallel statement in 1,76<sup>10</sup>. One must admit that the prevalence of such similar wording in Luke does indeed give this reading a *prima facie* plausibility. However, when this argument is scrutinized more closely, it is apparent that it fails to take into consideration a crucial distinction: ὕψος (of which the genitive singular ὕψους is used in Luke 1,78) and ὑψιστος (used frequently elsewhere in Luke) are not identical. While they derive from the same root referring generally to height in classical and *koine* Greek, there are significant differences in the way the words are used in practice. Let us survey their usage in several relevant bodies of literature: LXX (including deuterocanonical books, using Rahlfs-Hanhart as the basis), Old Testament pseudepigrapha (“OTP”)<sup>11</sup>, the works of Philo and Josephus (“Ph/Jo”), and the New Testament<sup>12</sup>. I have analyzed each occurrence of the two words in these respective corpora (288x for ὕψος; 230x for ὑψιστος), assigning each to one of the following five categories according to its usage in context:

Height measurement (e.g., Gen 6,15, τριάκοντα πῆχυν τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς).

High(est) point, often geographically but sometimes metaphorically, and typically rendered either with the preposition εἰς or in the genitive (e.g., Hab 2,9, τοῦ τάξαι εἰς ὕψος νοσοῦν αὐτοῦ; 2 Chr 20,19, ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἰς ὕψος, i.e. “in a supremely loud voice”).

Exaltation/pride/glory of mankind (e.g., 1 Chr 14,2, ὅτι ἠὺξήθη εἰς ὕψος ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ).

God himself

- Substantively, with or without the article (e.g., Deut 32,8, ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψιστος ἔθνη)

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 4Q246 ii,1: “He will be called the son of God, and they will call him son of the Most High”.

<sup>8</sup> JACOBY relies heavily on the parallel ὁ βλαστὸς θεοῦ ὑψίστου in *T. Judah* 24,4 (“ANATOLAH”, 208).

<sup>9</sup> LAMBERTZ, “Sprachliches”, 83.

<sup>10</sup> P. VIELHAUER, “Das Benedictus des Zacharias”, *ZTK* 49 (1952) 255-272; R.J. DILLON, *The Hymns of St. Luke* (CBQMS 50; Washington 2013) 77-84.

<sup>11</sup> As collected in J. CHARLESWORTH, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Peabody, MA 2010).

<sup>12</sup> In classical Greek, ὕψος is used ~800x in ~100 works, most commonly referring to the dimension of height or grandeur (G. BERTRAM, “ὕψος κτλ”, *TDNT* VIII, 602).

- Attributively, modifying θεός/κύριος (e.g., Gen 14,18, ἦν δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου).

Heavens or the heavenly realm, referring to the “heights of heaven” or simply “the highest”/“the heights” with the heavenly realm as the implied (or explicit) referent; for ὑψιστος, note that the plural is often used (e.g., Isa 38,14, ἐξέλιπον γάρ μου οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ βλέπειν εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; Job 25,2, ὁ ποιῶν τὴν σύμπασαν ἐν ὑψίστῳ).

The results of this analysis, excluding the verse in question, are summarized in the following table:

Semantic category	ὕψος				ὑψιστος			
	LXX	OTP	Ph/Jo	NT	LXX	OTP	Ph/Jo	NT
Height measurement	43	18	93	2	-	-	-	-
High(est) point	15	4	25	-	1	-	-	-
Exaltation/pride/glory	24	2	24	1	-	-	-	-
God himself								
Substantive	-	-	-	-	71	25	6	5
Attributive	-	-	-	-	35	57	8	5
Heavens/heavenly realm	17	8	10	2	8	5	-	4
Total	99	32	152	5	115	87	14	14

While the task of categorization can, of course, be debated in certain cases — i.e., a clear differentiation between an abstract “most high place” and “the heavens” is not always attainable — the tabulated results demonstrate quite clearly the significant semantic difference between the two words. In the data set, there are no clear instances where ὕψος/ὑψους refers to God himself<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, over 90% of occurrences of ὑψιστος do just that, closely reflecting extra-biblical use<sup>14</sup>.

Furthermore, if we focus on the six LXX instances of ὕψος that occur in precisely the form in question (ἐξ ὑψους), we observe that each refers to an action done by God that originates or comes out of the heavenly realm:

<sup>13</sup> Bertram argues that ὕψος “may be a substitute for God”, but he provides no examples that support that claim (*TDNT* 8, 603). His claim that Ps 72,8 LXX is equivalent to “against the Most High, i.e., God”, is unpersuasive, for in context the translator is paralleling ἀδικίαν εἰς τὸ ὕψος ἐλάλησαν in v. 8 with ἔθεντο εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν in v. 9a and with ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν διήλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς in v. 9b.

<sup>14</sup> The phrase “Most High Zeus” is well attested in Greek writings (e.g., Ζητὸς ὑψίστου in Sophocles; ὑψιστον Δία in Aeschylus; Διὸς ὑψίστου in Pindar; ὑψιστε θεῶν in Aelian). Some works also use ὑψιστος for “highest/greatest” (Pindar *Isth.* 1.1; Aesch. *Pers.* 331; *Suppl.* 479), but rarely for heaven.

2 Sam 22,14.17 — ἐβρόντησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κύριος, καὶ ὁ ὑψιστος ἔδωκεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ [...] ἀπέστειλεν ἐξ ὕψους καὶ ἔλαβέν με. In this text, notice that Lord is denoted “Most High” and thunders “from heaven” in v. 14. The subject of the subsequent actions of vv. 15-17 remains κύριος, such that he is the one who is sending (ἀπέστειλεν) from his dwelling place in v. 17 — hence, ἐξ ὕψους here cannot refer to God.

Ps 18[17],17 — This text is parallel to 2 Sam 22,14.17 above.

Ps 102[101],20 — ὅτι ἐξέκυψεν ἐξ ὕψους ἁγίου αὐτοῦ, κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπέβλεψεν. Here “from on high” in the first clause is clearly paralleled with “from heaven” in the second.

Ps 144[143],5.7 — κύριε, κλῖνον οὐρανοὺς σου καὶ κατὰβηθι [...] ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐξ ὕψους, ἐξελοῦ με καὶ ῥύσαι με ἐξ ὑδάτων πολλῶν. This text makes clear that God resides in heaven (v. 5), from which he is descending and then sending forth his hand (v. 7); in other words, there is again parallelism between “heaven” and “on high”. Moreover, the use of τὴν χεῖρά σου (modifying God) obviates the possibility that ὕψος refers to God himself here.

Lam 1,12b-13 — φθεγγόμενος ἐν ἐμοὶ ἑταπείνωσέν με κύριος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ἐξ ὕψους αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν πῦρ. The use of the genitive pronoun αὐτοῦ indicates that ὕψος here can only refer to God’s high place, not God himself.

Sir 16.17 — Μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου κρυβήσομαι, καὶ ἐξ ὕψους τίς μου μνησθήσεται. Though this text is occasionally used to defend the ὕψος = God hypothesis, it is clear that ἐξ ὕψους is modifying τίς (e.g., “who from the heavens”), and that the entire unit is paralleled with God (ἀπὸ κυρίου). In other words, the speaker cannot hide from anyone in the heavens, whether God or the heavenly host.

In all these examples, κύριος and ὑψιστος are used in such ways (often via the *parallelismus membrorum* itself) that explicitly indicate that ἐξ ὕψους cannot mean “from God”, but rather refers to the heavenly point of origination of God’s actions<sup>15</sup>. In light of these examples, we would deduce that, even if there were instances where ὕψος refers to God himself (which there are not), the most natural reading of an action taking place ἐξ ὕψους — particularly for Luke, who is so heavily influenced by the Septuagint<sup>16</sup> — would nevertheless lean in the direction of “from heaven”, not “from God”. Also to be observed is how, in the only analog in Luke (24,49), Jesus promises to send ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν. This text refers to his sending power from the heavenly realm to which he ascends in 24,51, and such a subtle distinction in the gospel is not insignificant: the writer goes to great lengths to demonstrate that

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Sir 17,32: δύναμιν ὕψους οὐρανοῦ αὐτὸς ἐπισκέπτεται.

<sup>16</sup> C.-W. JUNG, *The Original Language of the Lukan Infancy Narrative* (JSNTS 267; London 2004); T. MURAOKA, “Luke and the Septuagint”, *NovT* 54 (2012) 13-15.

it is Jesus himself who claims explicitly to send the δύναμις from his exalted status in the heavenly realm, such that the “power” is not generically “from God” but rather is sent explicitly from heaven<sup>17</sup>. Contrast this with δύναμις ὑψίστου in Luke 1,35, which could conceivably refer to power either from heaven or from God, as both options are possible for ὑψιστος (though most translations take it as God/“Most High”).

In sum, the lexical case is indisputable. While ὑψιστος can be used to refer either to God or to the heavens — and is used in both ways in Luke’s Gospel — there is simply no clear evidence that ὕψος ever refers to God himself. It seems that the close proximity of ὑψιστος in Luke 1,76 (“of [God] Most High”) to 1,78 may unconsciously be leading some exegetes astray in asserting that ἐξ ὕψους indicates that the ἀνατολή is likewise “from God”. But we should avoid such confusion and maintain the semantic distinction between these two words. In Luke 1,78, ἐξ ὕψους assuredly signifies “from upon high”/“from heaven”<sup>18</sup>.

What exegetical impact does this distinction imply? While on the surface these different interpretations of ἐξ ὕψους may seem innocuous enough, the practical difference in exegesis is not trivial. For most of those who argue that it means “from God”, the phrase simply refers to a “Messiah sent from God” or “God’s Messiah”<sup>19</sup>. On this reading, God as ὕψος is sending a human, Davidic messiah figure represented by the ἀνατολή, which in turn is taken to be an elliptical allusion either to the “Branch/Sprout” (צֶמַח) figure of Jer 23,5 and Zech 3,8 and 6,12 — which is rendered in *Codex Vaticanus* as ἀνατολή<sup>20</sup> — or the “star” figure of Num 24,17 LXX (e.g., ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακωβ). Scholars in this camp are roughly evenly divided between these two options, and some support the possibility of wordplay. Luke 1,78, in other words, simply has in view “God’s Branch” or “God’s Star” or something along those lines<sup>21</sup>.

However, if one takes seriously the lexical case that ἐξ ὕψους cannot on semantic grounds refer to “from God”, this would change the interpretive equation. Examining the syntax of the full sentence more closely, God has already been named as the agent in 1,78a, for the ἀνατολή “will visit” (ἐπισκέπεται) out of, or as a result of, the compassionate mercies of God, given that ἐν οἷς modifies σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ. Put differently, Luke has already indicated the relationship between the ἀνατολή figure and God using

<sup>17</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer argues for an allusion to Isa 32,15: “until the Spirit is poured upon us from on high” (ἀφ’ ὑψηλοῦ), J.A. FITZMYER *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV* (AB 28A; New York<sup>2</sup>1985) 1585. Cf. Wis 9,17: ἔπεμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἀπὸ ὑψίστων.

<sup>18</sup> Vulgate: *oriens ex alto*.

<sup>19</sup> Brown is representative here: though he translates it “from on high”, he argues that the phrase actually means “Messiah from [God] Most High” (BROWN, *Birth*, 373).

<sup>20</sup> Aquila reads ἀναφύην for Zech 3,8; 6,12 and βλάστημα δικαίου for Jer 23,5. Symmachus reads βλάστημα for Zech 6,12 and βλάστημα δίκαιον for Jer 23,5.

<sup>21</sup> Jacoby’s case that ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους is an “unabhängige Übertragungen des צֶמַח יְהוָה” (“ANATOLAH”, 213) has been widely influential.

ἐν οἷς, and so it is more sensible to take the next preposition (ἐκ) not as doubling down on the sending agent but as referring instead in a locative sense to his place of origin. While it is true that God is in some sense the sending agent, this is not grammaticalized by ἐξ ὕψους but rather by v. 1,78a. Thus, if ἐξ ὕψους refers to heaven as a location of origin and not to God himself, this semantic clarification lends support to other interpretations of the metaphor that take it not as the dawn of a messianic age in the abstract, nor simply as the provision of a Messiah “from God”, but rather as the visitation of some sort of figure from a transcendent or heavenly point of origin<sup>22</sup>. Such readings of the metaphor must, of course, be confirmed on additional grounds beyond these, but clarifying the signification of this key prepositional phrase is a critical step in that direction. If this suggestion is correct, then, for Luke, the target domain (or tenor) of the ἀνατολή metaphor is some sort of deliverer figure sent by God (1,78a), but his visitation originates ἐξ ὕψους, that is, from heaven.

This reading, in turn, should force us to revisit the aforementioned association of Luke’s ἀνατολή with the “Sprout/Branch” or “Star” of the Septuagint. In the former case, the ἀνατολή (קמץ) is raised up (ἀναστήσω in Jer 23,5) or springs up from below (ὑποκάτωθεν [...] ἀνατελεῖ in Zech 6,12); in the latter case the star arises ἐξ Ἰακωβ, that is, from the earthly stock of the patriarch. Here in Luke, however, the origination is not, as it were, “from below”, but rather “from above”, as coming “from heaven”, thus impacting one’s reading of this metaphor in the *Benedictus*.

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### Summary

The phrase ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους in Luke 1,78 has long proven enigmatic. This note focuses on the meaning of ἐξ ὕψους. Scholars have debated whether it should be interpreted as “from God/Most High” or “from upon high/heaven”. The use of ὕψιστος elsewhere in Luke 1–2 appears to be impacting the reading of 1,78 unnecessarily. An analysis of ~280 instances of ὕψος and ~230 of ὕψιστος in the relevant Jewish/Christian sources suggests that while ὕψιστος often refers to God, ὕψος never does. The ἀνατολή should be understood as coming ‘from heaven’, thus impacting one’s reading of this metaphor in the *Benedictus*.

<sup>22</sup> R.G. HAMERTON-KELLY, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom, and the Son of Man* (SNTSMS 21; Cambridge 1973) 78; WINTER, “Two Notes”, 160; GATHERCOLE, “Heavenly ἀνατολή”, 475-478.



## RECENSIONES

### Vetus Testamentum

James W. WATTS, *Leviticus 1–10* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament). Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, Peeters, 2013. xxx-567 p. 16 × 24

Il lettore che si trova di fronte il volume di J.W. Watts è colpito subito dalle dimensioni dell'opera: 567 pagine per commentare i primi dieci capitoli del Levitico possono sembrare eccessive, specie se, come fa provocatoriamente osservare l'autore proprio all'inizio dell'introduzione (1), si propone di commentare un'opera nella quale si parla di riti non più praticati e, per di più, inseriti in un libro che gode del poco invidiabile primato di essere ignorato anche dalle Chiese cristiane, che pure considerano la Bibbia il fondamento della loro fede. Procedendo però nell'analisi del volume ci si rende conto che, per l'obiettivo che l'autore si prefigge, quel numero di pagine è quasi fisiologico. L'opera, infatti, si propone di non limitarsi all'analisi testuale del libro, ma di esporre la storia della sua interpretazione e informare il lettore sull'influenza che questo libro ha esercitato, non solo nella tradizione ebraica e samaritana, ma anche su quella cristiana. Il riferimento alla tradizione samaritana merita di essere rilevato in quanto questo gruppo religioso è l'unico che, ancora oggi, pratica alcuni riti descritti nel Levitico.

L'Autore, prima di procedere nell'esposizione della materia, fa una premessa importante: il testo del Levitico non è stato composto per essere letto individualmente, ma piuttosto per una lettura pubblica! Bisogna infatti tener presente che la popolazione in grado di leggere non arrivava al 5-7%; ma poiché ogni fedele doveva essere in grado di compiere un sacrificio, si suppone che i sacerdoti istruissero i fedeli servendosi di un testo scritto autorizzato dalla gerarchia sacerdotale. È vero che la centralizzazione del culto nel tempio di Gerusalemme aveva sottratto tutta la massa di fedeli dei santuari locali (cf. 1 Sam 1,3), ma certamente l'imponente folla di devoti che affluiva a Gerusalemme nelle feste di pellegrinaggio doveva essere in grado di svolgere le incombenze rituali derivate dalla partecipazione ai sacrifici offerti. Non si deve escludere che sia questa la motivazione probabile per l'uso invalso nelle scuole giudaiche di insegnare i primi rudimenti della lingua ebraica servendosi del Levitico (1).

L'opera è strutturata nel modo solito: ad una corposa parte introduttiva (1-133) segue l'analisi del testo suddiviso in due grandi unità, una dedicata ai sacrifici (1-7), la seconda, invece, dedicata all'istituzione del sacerdozio e all'inaugurazione del culto e del tabernacolo (8-10).

Per quanto concerne la parte introduttiva essa è strutturata in tre sezioni titolate, rispettivamente, *Contents*, *Contexts*, *Rhetoric*. Nonostante la termi-

nologia sia inusuale, il contenuto è quello tradizionale; *Contents*, in realtà, affronta il tema del lessico sacrificale e la terminologia corrispondente in lingua inglese. Nella seconda parte, affronta il tema del rapporto tra Levitico ed il Pentateuco, con particolare attenzione riservata alle diverse posizioni degli studiosi sulla composizione, contesto storico e rapporto tra Levitico e il giudaismo.

La trattazione esegetica occupa, come appare logico, il numero più consistente di pagine (137-545) ed è strutturata in due grandi sezioni, la prima delle quali esamina i tradizionali sacrifici: olocausto, oblazione, sacrificio di comunione, sacrificio per il peccato, che l'Autore rende in lingua inglese con una terminologia non usuale (*rising offerings* 1,1-17; *commodity offerings* 2,1-16; *amity slaughter offerings* 3,1-17; *sin and guilt offerings* 4,1 – 5,26); l'esame delle norme che regolano le parti dei sacrifici spettanti ai sacerdoti completa questa sezione (6,1 – 7,38).

Una parte consistente del commentario esamina il racconto della consacrazione sacerdotale di Aronne per mano di Mosè e la successiva inaugurazione del tabernacolo (429-545); essa è suddivisa in tre sotto unità, la prima delle quali è dedicata alla consacrazione di Aronne (8,1-36), la seconda all'inaugurazione del tabernacolo (9,1-24), l'ultima esamina il racconto della morte dei due figli di Aronne che muoiono proprio nel momento in cui, per la prima volta, svolgono il loro servizio sacerdotale (10,1-20).

Il lettore alla fine è colpito, in particolare, dalla vastità degli argomenti affrontati e dalla massa enorme di letteratura esaminata dall'Autore. È quindi abbastanza comprensibile che qualche aspetto della trattazione susciti qualche perplessità. Per esempio, a proposito dell'uso del Levitico (*performing Leviticus*), l'autore parte da un'affermazione che ci rimanda alla fase preletteraria del testo: "I testi antichi erano letti a voce alta" (24) e lo scritto fungeva da supporto per le pubbliche letture testimoniate nell'AT ad iniziare da quella di Es 24,3-7, compiuta da Mosè, fino a quella al tempo di Esdra (Ne 8,1-5). Durante il regno degli Asmonei (134-63 a.C.) quei testi furono adoperati nelle scuole scribali sia per formare le classi dirigenti, sia per rafforzare l'identità giudaica del popolo, in polemica con l'ellenismo (27). L'autore recepisce, in questo modo, la tesi di D.M. Carr (*Writing on the Tablet of the Heart. Origins of Scripture and Literature* [Oxford 2005] 177-214). Tuttavia mentre per Carr la fase orale precede il testo scritto (4), per Watts è quest'ultimo a precedere temporalmente la fase orale, sia che assuma la forma di insegnamento o quella di vera istruzione popolare (28-29). Watts ritiene che già nei testi di Ugarit, in quelli ittiti, fino ad arrivare alla tariffa di Cartagine ci sarebbe il richiamo ad eseguire determinate azioni come era stato scritto (29-30). In altre parole, in una società in cui la popolazione capace di leggere un testo, come già accennato, si aggirava tra il 5 e il 7% (cf. K. Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* [Cambridge, MA 2007] 10) i libri, per usare una terminologia moderna, servivano come supporto per una lettura pubblica finalizzata all'istruzione del popolo, il quale partecipava attivamente ai riti descritti in Levitico 1-5. In questo modo si formò una letteratura ufficiale che in seguito conflui nel testo biblico attuale.

Insomma, l'Autore vuole porre in evidenza come una fase importante nella formazione del testo biblico del Pentateuco sia costituita dalle pubbliche letture e, di conseguenza, la composizione scritta fosse finalizzata alla lettura

comunitaria. Naturalmente se il testo scritto era in funzione della lettura pubblica, si pone immediatamente la domanda: poiché la popolazione da istruire parlava l'aramaico, come mai gli scribi continuavano a scrivere in ebraico? Che poi la grande massa popolare non capisse più l'ebraico è rilevato dal testo di Ne 8,8 che racconta la pubblica lettura della Torah, portata da Esdra, ma che i leviti devono tradurre in aramaico (cf. E.S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period. The Fifth and Fourth Century B.C.E.* [SBL Biblical Encyclopedia 8; Atlanta, GA 2005] 15-16) perché l'uditorio non capiva il testo che veniva letto. L'aneddoto riportato dal libro di Neemia suppone che almeno in quella occasione, lo scritto fosse stato elaborato non in funzione della pubblica lettura!

Anche l'affermazione dell'Autore (24) che nella tarda antichità la lettura silenziosa (*silent reading*) era piuttosto rara suscita qualche perplessità. Forse l'affermazione dovrebbe essere più sfumata alla luce di Sal 1,2, in cui si dichiara beato colui che medita servendosi della Torah "giorno e notte": il verbo *hāgāh*, tra le sfumature segnalate da HALOT, può anche significare "read in an undertone"; del resto, la presenza a Qumran di numerose copie, specialmente di libri come Salmi (36 copie), Deuteronomio (26 copie) ed Isaia (21 copie), fa supporre una lettura individuale dei testi. Anche l'etiope di At 8,30 legge individualmente il rotolo di Isaia a voce alta, visto che Filippo può aprire un dialogo proprio partendo dal contenuto del brano ascoltato. Certamente i testi scritti erano riservati a persone ricche, ma il commercio e l'ellenismo li avevano resi più frequenti che nel periodo precedente. Benché la lettura pubblica dei testi nel giudaismo fosse il mezzo più frequente di istruzione (cf. Lc 4,16), specie con la diffusione delle sinagoghe, anche la disponibilità di rotoli per la lettura personale doveva essere abbastanza comune. Del resto Lc 1,1 accenna a molti (*polloi*) che scrissero prima di lui e certo non si trattava di testi destinati alla lettura pubblica.

Un altro aspetto discutibile del commento di Watts è rappresentato dal modo di tradurre in inglese la terminologia sacrificale: il verbo *kipper* (*pi.*), di solito tradotto in inglese con "to atone", è reso con "to mitigate" (7; 322-328; 343-347). L'Autore dedica alla storia dell'interpretazione del termine una lunga trattazione (322-328): solitamente il verbo indica l'effetto che tale rito persegue sull'offerente; esso può agire sulla divinità "propiziandola" (324), ed è l'interpretazione che ha dato luogo all'espiazione vicaria di s. Anselmo, oppure il rito agisce sull'offerente eliminando da quest'ultimo le colpe o le impurità contratte con un comportamento contrario alla legge. Di solito alla luce di Lv 17,11, in cui Dio afferma di aver dato il sangue per *l'kappēr 'al napšōtēkem*, tradotto comunemente con "per espiare a favore delle vostre anime", si ritiene che il sangue, simbolo della "vita", elimini dal peccatore "la colpa o l'impurità"; secondo questo testo, sarebbe Dio stesso ad aver escogitato questo mezzo per perdonare il fedele (il verbo *sālah* "perdonare" riassume questo effetto positivo sul fedele). A p. 345 l'Autore arriva alla conclusione salomonica che *kipper* può assumere entrambi i significati: quando il verbo è seguito da un complemento oggetto si deve tradurre con "cancellare, purificare", quando invece è seguito dalla preposizione *'al* o *b'ad* si deve tradurre con "pay, compensare". Per Watts il vocabolo inglese più adatto a rendere il significato del *kipper* ebraico sarebbe "to mitigate" o il sostantivo "mitigation": l'Autore giustifica la sua scelta in quanto i due termini "miti-

gate, mitigation describes the *alleviation of negative consequences* produced by various kinds of problems ranging from legal conflicts to environmental pollution”. Mi sembra che il *kipper* ebraico cancelli dal peccatore la colpa e non ne provochi solamente un alleviamento! In realtà, continua l’Autore, “mitigate also carries overtones that suggest a partial solution to a problem that may require more and other responses”. Che il termine inglese “mitigate” sia il modo migliore per esprimere il significato dell’ebraico *kipper* può lasciare un po’ perplessi e, a mio avviso, non può essere condiviso.

Un problema analogo si riscontra con la traduzione di *’iššeh*, che l’autore fa derivare da *’ēš* “fuoco” (211-212). Già da molti anni il rapporto tra i due vocaboli è stato messo in dubbio; il primo ad aver proposto una diversa spiegazione fu Hoftijzer (cf. J. Hoftijzer, “Das sogenannte Feueropfer”, *Hebräische Wortforschung*. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgarten [eds. B. Hartmann et al.] [VTS 16; Leiden 1967] 114-134, spec. 129-130), il quale suggeriva di far derivare il vocabolo *’iššeh* non da *’ēš* (fuoco), ma da *’itt*, attestato in ugaritico con il valore di “dono” (la forma nominale sarebbe derivata da *itt* “esistere”, corrispondente all’ebraico *yēš*, attestato anche come *’iš* in Mic 6,10 e in 2 Sam 14,19). La proposta di J. Hoftijzer è stata recepita da autorevoli studiosi (J.E. Hartley, *Leviticus* [WBC 4; Dallas, TX 1992] 14; R. Rendtorff, *Leviticus* [BKAT 3/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985] 63-66, spec. 65). Anche J. Milgrom (*Leviticus 1-16* [AB 3/1; New York 1991] 162) accetta la sua derivazione dall’ugaritico, e lo interpreta come “food gift”. Inoltre, i LXX sono soliti tradurlo con *karpōma* “frutto, offerta di frutti”, che non risulta avere connessione con il fuoco. Ritengo che specialmente l’uso di Lv 24,7.9, in cui il termine *’iššeh* indica i pani della “proposizione”, giustifichi la traduzione del termine come “dono, offerta”.

I limiti imposti da una recensione non permettono un’analisi più ampia dell’opera di Watts, che risulta essere una preziosa miniera di informazioni per quanti si interessano non solo al Levitico, ma a tutta la religione di Israele.

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Mirjam VAN DER VORM-CROUGHS, *The Old Greek of Isaiah. An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 61). Atlanta, Society of Biblical and Cognate Literature, 2014. xiii-577 p. 15 × 23. \$75.95

Randall X. GAUTHIER, *Psalms 38 and 145 of the Old Greek Version* (VTS 166). Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2014. xv-396 p. 16,5 × 24

Les publications sur la Septante sont nombreuses aujourd’hui. Jamais sans doute on n’a poussé si loin l’analyse détaillée et systématique des particularités de chaque livre ou groupe de livres. La présentation de deux travaux récents permet de prendre la mesure des progrès accomplis. Inutile de redire la complexité de l’enjeu. Un texte hébreu, dont la teneur consonantique n’était

pas en tout celle du texte reçu (TM) et dont la lecture ne s'appuyait pas sur une vocalisation notée, est rendu en grec selon des méthodes variées, plus ou moins littérales. Cette première traduction a été occasionnellement ou systématiquement revue, en fonction de principes différents, et la tradition manuscrite grecque est rarement indemne de retouches issues de ces révisions, sans qu'on puisse décider avec certitude dans chaque cas. Cela fait beaucoup de paramètres à considérer.

Une première ressemblance est à signaler. Les titres des deux ouvrages parlent de l'Old Greek, non de la Septante. Tous deux visent donc explicitement le texte tel qu'il est sorti de la plume du premier traducteur, non ses révisions. Le cas échéant, ils doivent décider et pour cela argumenter. S'il s'agissait des Règles ou de Jérémie, la question se poserait de façon continue. Ce n'est pas le cas pour Isaïe et les Psaumes, mais elle n'est pas absente. Nous savons par d'excellents travaux menés depuis plus d'un siècle (I.L. Seeligmann, J. Koenig, A. van der Kooij) que le traducteur grec d'Isaïe recompose à sa manière des paragraphes entiers, tout en respectant la structure générale, ordre et quantité, de l'hébreu. Quant aux Psaumes, nous savons aussi, au moins depuis Martin Flashar (1912), que la traduction est d'autant plus littérale que le texte hébreu paraît plus obscur. Les méthodes des traducteurs des deux livres diffèrent, mais aucun des deux n'est obsédé par la littéralité. Tous deux aussi sont tributaires d'un certain nombre de choix de vocabulaire opérés avant eux, pour le Pentateuque.

Les options pratiques des deux thèses diffèrent. D'un côté l'étude d'un livre entier, Isaïe; de l'autre, l'étude de deux psaumes. D'un côté, une étude centrée sur l'inventaire des "plus" et de "moins" pour Isaïe; de l'autre une étude intégrale de deux psaumes, pour laquelle une vue d'ensemble pourrait apporter des confirmations: l'étude du vocabulaire s'étend heureusement à l'ensemble du Psautier. Des deux côtés, j'observe le souci d'introduire une logique mathématique, avec une insistance sur la logique du côté d'Isaïe, et sur l'aspect mathématique (pourcentages) du côté des psaumes. L'attention au vocabulaire est plus appuyée pour les psaumes; chez Isaïe, on touche occasionnellement à la technique de traduction.

L'ouvrage de Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs est la forme légèrement révisée d'une dissertation défendue à Leiden en 2010, dans le sillage et avec l'assistance de deux maîtres, A. van der Kooij et T. Muraoka. Dans ce travail minutieux et méthodique sur Isaïe, les différences quantitatives même minimes sont regroupées selon divers critères: explicitations, "implicitations" (omissions de certains mots non nécessaires en raison du contexte), jeu des particules, traductions libres des hébraïsmes, doubles traductions, condensations, figures rhétoriques par addition, soustraction ou transposition, et finalement influences d'autres passages d'Isaïe ou d'ailleurs. L'auteur sait que d'autres facteurs ont pu jouer dans le chef du traducteur: ses motivations, des erreurs de lecture ou de traduction, un modèle hébreu différent. À elle seule, l'organisation de la matière montre que, dans la ligne de la plupart des commentateurs d'Isaïe-LXX, l'auteur privilégie le facteur de l'originalité littéraire et tient pour secondaires les autres facteurs matériels. Je suis persuadé qu'elle a raison, mais je ne suis pas sûr que la preuve puisse en être donnée par l'analyse pointilliste des "plus" et des "moins". Si une preuve est possible en ce domaine fuyant et subtile, elle ne peut venir que de la lecture du grec

pour lui-même, en isolant des unités littéraires, comme l'avait fait J. Coste déjà en 1954 pour Is 25,1-5 ("Le texte grec d'Isaïe 25,1-5", *RBi* 61 [1954] 36-64) ou comme le propose la toute récente traduction française (*Vision que vit Isaïe. Traduction ... selon la Septante* d'Alain Le Boulluec et Philippe Le Moigne. *Index littéraire et glossaire* de Ph. Le Moigne [La Bible d'Alexandrie; Paris 2014]), qui ne donne pas encore ses justifications. Qu'on nous comprenne bien. Il ne s'agit pas de sous-estimer l'importance du travail minutieux. Dans le cas d'Isaïe, il est clair que l'Old Greek s'impose littérairement comme une œuvre nouvelle, on oserait dire originale, avec ces particularités que les "plus" et les "moins" sont courts et que la disposition générale du livre, quantitativement identique, reste qualitativement très proche du modèle hébreu tel que nous pouvons le connaître (TM et Qumrân). Les "plus" et les "moins" sont intéressants en ceci qu'on s'accorde à y voir le plus souvent une intervention du traducteur grec – avec raison. Cette liberté, loin de tout littéralisme, reflète à la fois une non-fixation du regard du traducteur sur son modèle hébreu et aussi, corrélativement, la non-fixité de ce modèle. La stabilisation du texte hébreu consonantique et de sa vocalisation dans la *secunda* des Hexaples atteste le souci de procurer des traductions de plus en plus littérales. Il reste que les différences quantitativement importantes, rares dans Isaïe, s'expliquent mieux par une différence dans la *Vorlage*, ainsi que l'a noté Anneli Aejmelaeus (citée 27-28). Tout compte fait, ce travail prouve par un examen systématique des détails que rien ne s'oppose aux vues prévalant jusqu'ici. Isaïe-LXX peut et doit être lu pour lui-même. La méthode choisie, délibérément minutieuse, ne peut pas (et tel n'est pas son but) rejoindre les intentions du traducteur, encore moins ses orientations théologiques. Le tout est autre chose que la somme des parties, l'auteur le sait parfaitement. En revanche, elle met en évidence des techniques originales de traduction et d'interprétation qu'on ne retrouve vraisemblablement pas ailleurs.

Rendall X. Gauthier propose également une forme remaniée de sa dissertation doctorale défendue à l'Université de Stellenbosch en 2010 sous la direction du Professeur Johann Cook. La première partie de l'ouvrage (1-116) vise à établir une méthode en inventoriant les présupposés des grandes entreprises récentes de traduction (A New English Translation of the Septuagint, La Bible d'Alexandrie, Septuaginta Deutsch) sans oublier les commentaires (Septuagint Commentary Series) et en réfléchissant sur les théories de la communication, en particulier sur la "relevance theory" selon E.-A. Gutt (86). Il s'intéresse de très près aux questions lexicales. Il compare avec à-propos les deux dictionnaires disponibles, Lust-Eynikel-Hauspie et Muraoka. Il retient, avec Muraoka, que celui qui ne s'intéresse pas particulièrement aux exégèses patristiques et aux versions de la LXX peut cependant en tirer un parti utile: commentateurs et traducteurs du grec n'ont pas habituellement accès à l'hébreu et doivent donc s'en tenir à ce qu'ils lisent (115). Telle est aussi la situation dans laquelle cherchent à se mettre aujourd'hui les traducteurs de la LXX en langues modernes: oublier en quelque sorte qu'ils connaissent l'hébreu. L'appendice (319-358) propose un lexique inventoriant les écarts notables entre le sens obvie des mots grecs et celui des mots hébreux correspondants, avec pour chaque psaume, le pourcentage des écarts par rapport au nombre moyen des lexèmes de l'hébreu et du grec. Le Psaume 54 a le pourcentage le plus élevé d'écarts (8,37%); il y aurait à regarder de ce côté pour



voir si ce haut pourcentage correspond à un degré correspondant de traduction interprétative. Pour ce qui est des deux psaumes étudiés en détail, le Psaume 145, assez court, présente 2 écarts sur 120 lexèmes (1,67%); le Psaume 38, plus long, présente 16 écarts sur 210 (7,64%). Pour chaque psaume, l'auteur observe la plus ou moins grande constance du traducteur dans le rendu des mots grecs (310-311). Certains cas de 'semantic leveling' me paraissent significatifs: ainsi deux mots hébreux différents et peu communs sont rendus à peu de distance par le même mot grec ὑπόστασις (Ps 38,6 et 8); on trouverait d'autres exemples, et plus fréquents, en parcourant l'ensemble du Psautier.

Qu'est-ce que l'Old Greek du Psautier? Sur le texte lui-même, il peut y avoir des doutes, mais rares et localisés. La question des titres est plus délicate. Gauthier ne connaît pas encore la publication du P. Oxy. 5101, rouleau de papyrus du I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s., dont il reste des éléments de 6 colonnes (D. Colomo et W.B. Henry, dans *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXXVII* [London 2011] 1-11, pl. II-III). Le rouleau est évidemment d'origine juive et écrit le tétragramme en caractère hébreux archaïsants. C'est le plus ancien psautier grec conservé. Traitant du titre du Psaume 145, Gauthier note l'addition de Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου et il s'étend longuement sur ce type de titre évoquant les prophètes (249-256). Il est intéressant de noter que, en tête du Psaume 64, le P. Oxy. 5101 a un titre très court εἰς τὸ τε<sup>λ</sup> ψαλμοῦ τῷ Δαυιδ ("pour la fin, psaume à/de David"), sans les additions qui se lisent dans le grec (ὥδῃ . . . Τερεμίου καὶ Ἰεζεκιήλ) et ses versions. Le texte court du titre est-il original ou l'effet d'une révision?

Cette question des titres est proche d'une autre, rarement évoquée. Dans les rouleaux de Qumrân, les psaumes ne sont pas numérotés; dans ceux de la geniza du Caire, ou bien ils ne le sont pas, ou bien ils le sont mais différemment de nos usages, et la variété demeure jusqu'au temps de l'imprimerie (J.-M. Auwers, "La numérotation des psaumes dans la tradition hébraïque. Une enquête dans le fonds hébreu de la Bibliothèque nationale", *RB* 109 [2002] 343-370; P.-M. Bogaert, "L'ancienne numérotation africaine des psaumes et la signature davidique du psautier", *RBen* 97 [1987] 153-162). Dès lors, que l'on parle de l'Old Greek du Psautier, il faut se demander si ce n'est pas un éditeur grec, et vraisemblablement le premier traducteur, l'Old Greek, qui a introduit la numérotation telle, ou à peu près telle (il y a des variantes), que celle que nous connaissons. Il est vrai que certains psaumes se délimitent clairement par leur contenu, leur titre et leur finale; mais l'opération consistant à introduire une division systématique et surtout à numéroter est autre chose. Cette question est à l'ordre du jour, puisque les commentaires récents tendent à souligner l'unité et la cohérence du Psautier comme ensemble. Si l'on considère les deux psaumes étudiés, la délimitation du Psaume 38 (TM 39) s'impose clairement; celle du Psaume 145 (TM 146) suffisamment, tant en hébreu qu'en grec.

Les questions lexicales intéressent Gauthier. Un exemple paraît typique. En Ps 145 (TM 146),8, le grec rend l'hébreu *pqh* "ouvrir (les yeux)" par σοφῶ, verbe grec inconnu par ailleurs, mais dont le sens semble donné par l'étymologie "rendre sage". C'est un de ces écarts entre l'hébreu et l'Old Greek, dont l'auteur a établi la liste et les pourcentages (319-358). En plusieurs pages et en conclusion (290-295, 317, 357), il étudie la refonte rhéto-



rique du passage et il note que l'Old Greek interprète le verbe hébreu "ouvrir (les yeux)" dans un sens sapientiel. "Rendre sage les aveugles" implique l'aveuglement spirituel ou intellectuel. Comme le traducteur grec ne fait pas cette même démarche dans les stiques parallèles, je me suis demandé s'il ne fallait pas donner au verbe rare σοφώ (hapax, à distinguer de σοφίζω) un sens médical "exercer l'art de l'ophthalmologue" et donc "guérir de la cécité", puisque ὀφθαλμόσοφος existe au sens d'"oculiste, ophthalmologue" (Lucien, *Lexiphanes*, 4; cf. Liddell & Scott, 1278b). Pour aller plus loin, il faudrait d'autres arguments, car les traducteurs latins ont *illuminat*; seul le Psautier de Vérone (La<sup>R</sup> selon Rahlfs, α selon l'édition de R. Weber) traduit par *sapientes facit*. Quand les Latins s'écartent de la traduction reçue *illuminat* au profit de *sapientes facit*, ils s'en expliquent, ainsi Hilaire, Jérôme et Augustin. Jérôme a gardé *illuminat* dans le *Gallicanum* et dans l'*Hebraicum*. Le grec (Jean-Chrysostome et la syro-hexaplaire [h: mnhr] d'après F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*..., II [Oxonii 1875] 302) connaît φωτίζει à cette place, plus naturel, puisqu'il s'agit d'aveugles, et qui explique *inluminat*. Pour le traducteur la difficulté tenait au fait que le *pqh* "ouvrir" (Aquila: ἀνοίγει) a pour objet direct les aveugles, sans mention des yeux, ce qui embarrasse. Le latin assure l'antiquité de φωτίζει, mais cette *lectio faciliior* a peu de titre à être originale. Gauthier (357) a donc raison d'introduire ce cas dans sa liste des écarts, quel que soit le sens de σοφώ, "guérir (de la cécité)" comme nous l'envisageons, ou, selon la traduction commune, "rendre sage".

"Traiter géométriquement des choses fines", selon l'expression de Pascal: les deux ouvrages visent à démontrer, en s'appuyant sur des méthodes extrêmement minutieuses, ce que des études plus globales faisaient entrevoir. À des degrés divers, Isaïe grec et le Psautier grec ont reçu une marque propre du fait de leur premier traducteur. Sans perdre l'ADN de leur source hébraïque, ils sont marqués sans retour par le judaïsme hellénistique. Tout le monde s'accorde sur l'origine alexandrine (ou au moins égyptienne) de la traduction d'Isaïe. Pourra-t-on trouver un argument ou une méthode pour décider du lieu, toujours discuté, de l'origine du Psautier grec, Égypte ou Judée? Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le traducteur des psaumes ne se permet par la même liberté que celui d'Isaïe; il se distingue aussi très sensiblement d'Aquila et de Symmaque. Il se pourrait que l'application de la méthode proposée ici à des psaumes conservés dans les quatre colonnes grecques par le palimpseste de l'Ambrosienne, en distinguant l'Old Greek de ses révisions, apporte des résultats encore plus précis que la comparaison avec l'hébreu seul.

Ces deux ouvrages se distinguent par leur précision et leur rigueur. Une fois libérés des contraintes propres à des travaux de doctorat, leurs auteurs pourront, en s'éclairant l'un par l'autre, saisir en termes de comparaison l'originalité de chaque traducteur, celui d'Isaïe, celui du Psautier, sans oublier tous les autres. Les deux attitudes observées vis-à-vis du modèle hébreu correspondent vraisemblablement à deux moments. Dans le cas d'Isaïe, le traducteur garde sa liberté devant un texte qu'il sait encore malléable; dans le cas du Psautier, la fidélité matérielle n'est pas encore une règle poussée à ses ultimes conséquences.

Lena-Sofia TIEMEYER, *Zechariah and His Visions. An Exegetical Study of Zechariah's Vision Report* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 605). Bloomsbury, T&T Clark, 2015. xvii-305 pp.

Tiemeyer takes seriously that Zechariah saw visions and suggests that at times he had trouble describing what he had seen because the world he saw differed from the world in which he lived. Tiemeyer's form-critical analysis of those vision reports (not dreams) in Zechariah 1–6 is crucial to her work and helpful to the study of other visions in the Hebrew Bible. By design form criticism uncovers the early, preliterate stage of sayings. Sometimes that discovery is fairly simple, but in the case of Zechariah 1–6 it is not. In places the preserved "original" sayings are buried in or with later materials, perhaps even of differing genres. Always, however, sayings in Zechariah 1–6 have been honed literarily to fit their literary context. For example latter oracles presuppose earlier ones: "The angel who talked with me" (4,1; 5,5). What one encounters in Zechariah 1–6 is the literary record of (some of?) Zechariah's sayings coupled after the fact with other materials. This review is not designed to say that Tiemeyer is wrong in what she says, but to contextualize what she says and to offer a few cautions.

Tiemeyer distinguishes three levels within the visionary reports taken as a whole: Level I, the level of Zechariah himself; Level II, the level of dialogue between Zechariah and the Interpreting Angel; and Level III, the visionary world that Zechariah and the Interpreting Angel receive glimpses of and at times are able to visit. When Zechariah and the angel "set out" (יָצָא) they leave Level II for Level III, and when they "return" (שָׁבוּ) they go back to Level II. She also employs the terms "message dreams" and "symbolic dreams", the latter teeming with gods, demons, humans, and beasts and narrating unprecedented activities and happenings (25). She cautions, however, that the border between the two levels can be blurred. She also emphasizes that readers must take seriously the claim that Zechariah saw visions, and she doubts that the people responsible for the texts in the Hebrew Bible distinguished too sharply between dreams and visions (19).

Tiemeyer is judicious in her attention to details. This review cannot do justice to this aspect of her work. At best it can illustrate that attention. In her comments on the first vision (Zech 1,8-11), for example, she deals first with the rider. Is he (1) identical with the Angel of YHWH, but distinct from the Interpreting Angel, and what is their relationship with "the man among the myrtle"; (2) are there three distinct figures; or (3) do the three titles all designate one figure (67)? She opts for and defends the third possibility. In connection with v. 9 she remarks bluntly that Zechariah's questions in v. 9 "portray the prophet as an ignoramus" (77). One may add that apocalypses often do the same thing with their seer. How else can the author portray the necessary information to the real ignoramuses, the readers?

Tiemeyer distinguishes that first report (1,8-11) from the angel's explanation (1,12-17), and treats only the former. (That move is form-critically correct, but, of course, that early form is not what the reader of Zechariah encounters.) The man among the myrtles is an angel, the same as the Angel of

YHWH, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. In the vision the horses and their mounted rider-angels form God's "host". The horses themselves do the speaking. The author of the ensuing verses (1,12-17) could detect no significance for the horses and did not comment on them (83). Even so, one might add, he had plenty to say to the reader. Still, Tiemeyer is perfectly within her rights as an author to define what she will investigate.

Zechariah's second vision (MT 2,1-4; Eng. 1,18-21) is confined to the mundane world. According to Tiemeyer's lucid exegesis, the actual visual impression gives rise to the oracle. God appears as a character alongside Zechariah and the angel and shows Zechariah things in the visionary world. He sees "four animal horns, lying around or somehow sticking up" (95). The angel explains to Zechariah that the horns "constitute the tools that were used to scatter ... Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem". What is envisioned in this vision is not the annihilation of these nations, but God's breaking of their power (98). The craftsmen were heavenly beings who would fight against the horses or who were coming to terrify the horns (the enemies of Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem).

The heart of the third vision (MT 2,5-9; Eng. 2,1-5) is stated by the Angel: Jerusalem will be an open region (i.e. without walls), and its population (both humans and animals) will be so numerous that no wall could surround them all. Most importantly God will be like a wall of fire around her. Tiemeyer again stresses (115) that the disorganized nature of this report makes the most sense if the report was based on an actual vision.

Another example of Tiemeyer's excellent analysis and interpretation appears in connection with Zechariah's fifth vision in Zechariah 4. It opens with a sleeping Zechariah in Level III, i.e. already present in a visionary world. When Zechariah speaks, he is acting within the divine council. She suggests viewing the Interpreting Angel as the *alter ego* of the angel of YHWH, who encounters Zechariah at Level II. (That is a marvelous solution to an old quandary: the relationship between the two angels.) This analysis also allows Tiemeyer to solve another quandary in the study of Zechariah's visions: the relative age of Zechariah 3 and the other visions. She argues (54), correctly, that Zechariah 3 was added to the collection late, and that it was composed to fit, not to disturb, the sequence of the other visions. Still, Tiemeyer grants in so saying that it is not in the final analysis possible to understand fully the visions through form-critical analysis alone. Tiemeyer also cautions her readers that the author is no *ignoramus*. The images are not often self-interpreting; Zechariah must explain them *as well as he can*, and to people who had *not* seen them.

In connection with vision six (5,1-4), Tiemeyer remarks that the imagery of the airborne scroll "can mean almost anything" (201). The explanations in vv. 3-4, however, limit its scope to issues that concern crimes against the community and against God. The seventh vision (5,5-11) depicts a small figure rather than a real woman, since she is said to be sitting in the midst of (i.e. inside) an *ephah* with a lid. She is logically correct, but it is not clear that the vision had to be. Tiemeyer describes vision eight (6,1-8) as "a polyvalent vision account filled with images", which "does not grant its readers any assured interpretation". She notes, moreover, that there is no need to find (or create!) complete agreement between the first and the last vision accounts

in details of the scenes. Finally, she insists on a reading that differentiates between what Zechariah heard and what he saw.

This limited report of Tiemeyer's findings demonstrates how carefully she explains the visions of Zechariah. She does not exegete other materials in the text or attempt to reconstruct its history. Consequently, her study is foundational for an attempt to read Zechariah 1–6. Tiemeyer wants to read the eight visions form-critically, without recourse to their interrelationships. Such a reading is defensible in so far as it forces readers to consider each vision on its own terms, but ultimately such a reading is incomplete since the later visions themselves (e.g., Zech 4,1; 5,5; 6,4) refer to earlier visions. Differently expressed, the visions present themselves as a connected series. Tiemeyer's reading also does not consider the uses to which the visions are put in their canonical context. The first three visions together with the last three frame the vision of God in Zechariah 4. As to other verses within Zech 1,7 – 6,8, Tiemeyer correctly states that 3,1-5 is quite different from the rest of the seven-fold sequence. It is not a "raw" description of what Zechariah saw, but an edited version of his visual experience.

Still, are not the other seven descriptions edited versions as well? Tiemeyer is quite clear that the visions were oral, and that she studies them form-critically, i.e. more or less in their oral form. Still, those eight descriptions of the visions are all the result of subsequent recollection and preservation. They were placed in a sequence that opens (vision 1) and closes (vision 8) with soldiers and horses. Visions 1-3 and 6-8 are much shorter than the pivotal visions 4 and 5. Vision 3, moreover, is followed by a plea to exiles in Babylon to return to Jerusalem and Judah in the holy land, and vision 8 is followed by an obscure discussion of people who did just that. Tiemeyer, therefore, does more tradition history and redaction criticism than she seems to let on.

As insightful, valuable, and well written as this monograph is, therefore, it is also somewhat arbitrary in its limitation of methods for reading. It postulates on form-critical grounds a number of vision descriptions that constitute a layer of texts that precedes all the others. One may surely grant the oral nature of prophetic sayings with form criticism, but the sayings in Zechariah are available to contemporary readers only through a written source. On purely form-critical grounds, Tiemeyer can simply speak of the individual sayings. The fact that she follows the sequence in which they appear in the text already acknowledges their literary order as significant to their meaning. What the reader is confronted with is a complex *text* that appears to have grown over time. In short, Tiemeyer's exegesis of an underlying oral level is thorough and informative, but it is also an exegesis of a *text* containing only visions that does not exist and perhaps never did. That is a limitation of form criticism. The eight visions we have are in their order because someone – an editor – put them there, and it is difficult if not impossible to get behind that order. Readers will not understand the particular significance of the vision of the temple (Zechariah 4) without the preceding visions, including Zechariah 3.

Tiemeyer's strictly form-critical study of this very complex text is limited, moreover, in that it does not concern itself with the uses to which the visions are put in the book of Zechariah itself via comments, additions, etc. The third vision (MT 2,5-9; Eng. 2,1-5), for example, is followed by a command

to exiles to “flee” Babylon (shades of the exodus) for Zion and a command for all peoples to be silent before YHWH, who had roused himself from God’s holy dwelling (in heaven?). Why? To indwell once again God’s holy dwelling in Jerusalem. This reviewer’s comment does not mean that Tiemeyer was wrong to limit her study to an original version of the visions, but this comment does point out the need eventually to exegete the entire text. Indeed, Tiemeyer is quite clear that her investigation is but a first step in engaging the book of Zechariah, chapters 1–6, let alone its entirety.

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Ruth HENDERSON, *Second Temple Songs of Zion. A Literary and Generic Analysis of the Apostrophe to Zion* (11QPs<sup>a</sup> XXII 1-15), Tobit 13:9-18 and 1 Baruch 4:30–5:9 (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 17). Berlin – Boston, Walter de Gruyter, 2015. xv-344 p. 16 × 23,5. €99.95.

Jerusalem holds a certain sway upon the religious imagination and consciousness of many biblical writers. As the site of the Temple, Jerusalem inspires reverence and respect. After its destruction, the city stirs hopes for future restoration and glory, becoming a light on the hill that beckons the nations. Songs modeled after the prophecies of Isaiah (Isa 49,15-26; 51,17 – 52,2; 54; 60; 62) were composed to express these attitudes toward the city of Jerusalem. The Septuagint, specifically in Tob 13,9-18, 1Bar 4,30 – 5,9, *Pss. Sol.* 11, and Qumranic texts such as 4Q176 and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> XXII 1-15, provide evidence for the lively adaptation and re-working of the *topos* of the future Jerusalem in Second Temple Judaism.

The same love for, and fascination with, Jerusalem drives the current work under review, which is a revised doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Devorah Dimant of the University of Haifa. The monograph deals with three specific texts addressed to Jerusalem, namely, the *Apostrophe to Zion* (11QPs<sup>a</sup> XXII 1-15), Tob 13,9-18, and 1Bar 4,30 – 5,9. Although only *Ap Zion* specifically mentions Zion, the author nonetheless entitles the work *Second Temple Songs of Zion*. In liturgical texts such as the Psalms and Lamentations, Zion reflects a theological complex of beliefs, created during the Davidic-Solomonic era, that views God as the supreme and universal ruler, David as the chosen regent, and the imperial Davidic city as God’s dwelling place. This was later transformed in Isaiah 40–66 into eschatological hopes. While the *Apostrophe to Zion* displays Zion theology and is a clear representative of the genre, the same theological ideas as articulated in Isaiah 40–66 similarly underpin the songs in Tobit and Baruch despite the absence of references to Zion.

The work has a logical structure that aligns with the goal of carrying out

a detailed literary, structural, and generic analysis of the three Zion songs. After a consideration of the *status quaestionis* on the theme of the future Jerusalem in the Hebrew Bible, the *Apocrypha/Pseudepigrapha*, Qumran, and the New Testament in the first chapter, and after clarifying the methodological problems involved in literary research in the second chapter, the study analyzes the three selected texts, devoting a chapter of balanced and meticulous investigation of each song in light of its structure and biblical influences. Each chapter begins by reviewing the relevant research on each text and concludes with a summary of findings with remarks on the writer's view of Zion as embedded in the song and in the larger work. The sixth chapter is devoted to genre analysis of the three songs, identifying and comparing formal and substantive features common to each. The final chapter serves as a review and summary of findings gleaned from the literary and generic analysis of the three representative Zion songs in the age of the Second Temple.

In her literary analysis of the *Ap Zion* in chapter 3, Henderson identifies the biblical Zion songs of Isaiah and the psalms as biblical influences. In accordance with her methodology, these influences are specified in terms of models, which include Isaiah 40–66 and Psalms 37 and 122; thematic echoes, which include the remembrance of Zion, Zion's salvation, divine recompense, Zion as center of worship, and the spread of Zion; and allusions, which include Isa 66,10–11 and Dan 9,24. The placing of these scriptural influences within the structure identified as concentric is relevant, as it emphasizes the centrality of Zion as God's holy city, whose salvation is assured through the faithful remembrance of her children. The inner circle articulates the principle of divine recompense and looks forward to the time when the iniquity and impurity within the walls of Zion are cleansed and the enemies are cast out. The outer circle with allusions to Isaiah and Daniel bolsters the assurance in the eschatological fulfillment of the promised redemption of Zion, which will come at a specific time within the divine plan in light of the prophetic word.

The fourth chapter on Tob 13,1–18, which is composed of two songs that are addressed first to Israel and then to Jerusalem, carefully untangles the structure of the songs. The eternal kingship of God functions as an *inclusio* that defines the first song in Tob 13,1–6, with God's relationship to Israel as its center. Since the song invites Israel to praise and turn to God wholeheartedly and since it contains no references to Tobit's healing, it is thought to be an independent, tripartite composition that has been incorporated into the story to serve as Tobit's praise as Raphael commanded him to do earlier. Addressed to Jerusalem, the second song in Tob 13,9–18 is concentrically structured based on a time marker ("forever"), which underscores the continuing character of the future Jerusalem. As a song of joy, the structural center is Tob 13,13, exhorting Jerusalem to rejoice over the return of her children. The outer circle, Tob 13,10–11 and Tob 13,15–18, is the praise of God for exalting and restoring Jerusalem while the inner circle consists of curses and benedictions based on the negative and positive responses toward the city. As for biblical influences, the psalms on the kingship of God and Deut 30,1–10 serve as models for the first song. Isaiah 40–66, particularly the allusions in Isa 60,1–14 and Isa 54,11–12, influenced the composition of the second song. The songs present Jerusalem of the eschatological temple in the same way that the narrative presents the temple of Solomon as the story begins. In this way,



the eschatological Jerusalem as city and temple, which God will restore out of his mercy and faithfulness, perfects the ideals of the Solomonic temple.

The fifth chapter on 1Bar 4,30 – 5,9 argues that it is likely an idiomatic Greek translation of a Hebrew original. As support, Henderson shows that 1Bar 5,5-8 and *Pss. Sol.* 11,26 have a common Hebrew source. The last part of the song, 1Bar 5,5-9, was likely composed at a different time but later inserted into the song as an expansion of some themes already present in the first text. And so, the structural analysis of 1Bar 4,30 – 5,4 shows that the song has a seven-part concentric structure that underlines the reversal of Jerusalem's mourning into joy. The notion of God's election of Jerusalem forms the *inclusio* in 4,30 and 5,4. The outer circle is 1Bar 4,31-35 and 5,1-3, which are antithetical parallels that contrast the destinies of Babylon and Jerusalem both personified as wife and mother. The inner circle is 1Bar 4,36 and 4,37b, with its reference to the joy over the return of Jerusalem's children but from two points of view. 1Bar 5,5-9 expands 1Bar 4,36-37, revising thus the structure of the entire song into a binary form that focuses on the exile's return. This addition stresses the central theme of the original concentric structure, which is the joy over the gathering of Jerusalem's exiled children. The covenant lawsuit in Deut 32,15-18, Lam 1,12-22, the prophetic corpus, and wisdom literature serve as models for Jerusalem's portrait in 1Bar 4,5-29, the song's first three parts. In the first part, 1Bar 4,5-9a, Jerusalem grieves as a mother alongside God, her husband. In the second part, 1Bar 4,9b-16, Jerusalem is a desolate and suffering widow lamenting to her neighbors over the loss of her children on account of their unrighteousness. In the third part, 1Bar 4,17-29, Jerusalem is a sack-clothed penitent crying to God hoping for restoration and addressing her children like a wisdom teacher on how to endure exile. Finally, in the fourth part, 1Bar 4,30 – 5,9, which is heavily influenced by the Zion songs in Isaiah 52, 54, 60 and the exodus theme from Isaiah 40–55, Jerusalem is consoled, exhorted to put on the clothes of splendor and to move from sorrow to joy as she receives her children back. Although personified with an intense immediacy, the future Jerusalem is nonetheless characterized as a chosen and eternal city of righteousness, peace, glory, joy, and with a great population comprising a great multitude of exiles.

The sixth chapter concerns genre analysis, classifying the main features that are common to the three texts representing the post-biblical prophetic genre of Zion songs. To define their generic character, formal and substantive features as well as dominant biblical influences and function are examined. In terms of formal elements, it is noticed that they all display a particular rhetorical arrangement that includes an initial, direct address to Zion/Jerusalem that is sustained through the song; a profusion of second feminine singular forms used in reference to Zion; a frequent use of imperatives addressed to Zion; a prevalent use of the future tense; and the schematic prominence of the number seven. The external structure of the songs typically exhibits concentricity. In terms of substantive characteristics, it is noted that they draw upon Zion songs in Isaiah 40–66, expanding or reworking them by alluding to other biblical texts. The major themes common to the three songs include the eschatological re-gathering of Zion's children, the reversal of the fates of Zion and her enemies as a sign of divine recompense, the future splendor and glory of Zion, the joy that awaits Zion, the restored and intimate



relationship of Zion with God, and Zion as the resplendent center of the world. In addition to the theological and polemical functions of the songs as a genre, it is specifically suggested that *Ap Zion* is a Second Temple song that was used in the Temple liturgy while the songs in Tob 13,9-18 and 1Bar 4,30 – 5,9 were likely used to accompany the reading of scripture in developing synagogue assemblies in accordance with the Hasmonean promotion of Hebrew language and traditions against the encroachments of Hellenism.

This work succeeds in achieving its goals. In the mind of this reviewer, however, the use of echo as a methodological category is not as useful or without its risks. The author does acknowledge that echoes have “no hermeneutical significance in themselves” but simply enrich, as a cluster, the interpretation (34). And yet, the work has drawn attention to the wide use of the psalms echoed in these songs. Given that the Book of Psalms lays a heavy emphasis on Jerusalem as its theological focus with the Temple as the place of God’s residence (cf. Psalms 46, 48, 76, 78, 84, etc.), might it be that the songs simply breathed the same air of theological concepts, participating in the same complex of beliefs and ideas as the psalms? How are genuine echoes determined? Nonetheless, these questions are minor quibbles about an otherwise compelling structural and genre analysis of these Second Temple texts on Zion/Jerusalem.

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### Novum Testamentum

Jean-Philippe FABRE, *Le disciple selon Jésus. Le chemin vers Jérusalem dans l'évangile de Marc (Le livre et le rouleau 45)*. Bruxelles, Editions Lessius, 2014. 371 p. 15,5 × 23. €29,50

Il volume di J.-P. Fabre è il risultato di un dottorato in teologia biblica difeso presso la Facoltà Notre-Dame del Collège des Bernardins di Parigi. Come specificato nell'*avant-propos* (firmato dal direttore della tesi, J.-N. Aletti), il testo edito dalla Lessius corrisponde sostanzialmente a quello del dottorato, a parte alcuni cambiamenti di tipo stilistico apportati per migliorarne la leggibilità.

Oggetto della ricerca sono i discepoli nel vangelo secondo Marco; la metodologia dichiarata fin dall'inizio è quella dell'analisi narrativa. Gli studi sui discepoli nel secondo vangelo sono tantissimi e quelli che utilizzano l'analisi narrativa (come ben indicato dall'A. nell'introduzione) non sono pochi. Dove sta l'originalità del lavoro di Fabre? In breve possiamo affermare che sta nell'affermazione di pagina 299: «La question majeure qui a orienté toute la réflexion n'était pas tant “qu'est-ce qu'un disciple pour Jésus dans l'évangile

de Marc?», mais plus fondamentalement “comment devenir disciple en lisant l'évangile de Marc?». L'A., in altre parole, non si accontenta di raccogliere tutti i dati che Marco dissemina nel suo racconto a proposito dei discepoli (per costruire quella che abitualmente viene detta una teologia del discepolato o addirittura l'ecclesiologia di Marco), ma si chiede quale sia la funzione di tali dati nell'insieme del racconto, e questo è un aspetto di originalità rispetto agli studi non-narrativi; in particolare, si sofferma sull'influsso che questi hanno sul lettore, e questo è un aspetto di originalità all'interno degli studi narrativi. La conclusione a cui giunge la ricerca è reperibile alla fine del lavoro, a pagina 350: rappresentando *in un certo modo* la figura dei discepoli, Marco invita il lettore-discepolo a «repandre sans cesse la suivance comme un chemin ouvert et, pour cela, lire à nouveau le récit marrien depuis le début. Ainsi, le lecteur deviendra toujours plus disciple, selon le modèle de Jésus, et à la manière de Bartimée» (350). L'idea non è nuova, in sé; ciò che è interessante è vedere come Fabre la sviluppa.

La prima parte del volume si concentra su Mc 1,1 – 8,30. Anzitutto viene presentata un'analisi veloce di tutti gli episodi in cui sono presenti i discepoli, a cui viene aggiunta la difficile guarigione del cieco di Betsaida, considerata come emblematica della sezione; viene di fatto ripresa e ribadita la tesi di Paolo Mascilongo, citato più volte fin dall'inizio del lavoro: i discepoli sono spettatori attenti, ma incapaci di capire quello che Gesù fa e dice; tuttavia, la loro caratterizzazione negativa viene moderata dal fatto che perseverano nell'essere presenti, nel seguire Gesù (cf. P. Mascilongo, «*Ma voi chi dite che io sia?*». Analisi narrativa dell'identità di Gesù e del cammino dei discepoli nel Vangelo secondo Marco, alla luce della “Confessione di Pietro” [Mc 8,27-30] [Analecta Biblica 192; Roma 2011]). In più, rispetto a Mascilongo, Fabre afferma che il giudizio nei confronti dei discepoli è mitigato dal narratore quando dice che il loro cuore è indurito (cf. Mc 6,52) e da Gesù quando dice loro «non comprendete ancora?» (cf. Mc 8,21); l'avere il cuore indurito sarebbe segno che il non comprendere non dipende del tutto da loro, mentre l'avverbio «ancora» direbbe che non capiscono tutto perché ancora manca qualcosa. Senza scendere nei dettagli dell'esegesi dei due testi, va però notato che abitualmente l'avverbio «ancora» rimanda a quanto precede (e quindi inasprisce il rimprovero) e l'indurimento del cuore dice una non volontà di capire, non tanto una condizione esterna a cui i discepoli non potrebbero reagire (e infatti viene attribuita ai peggiori “nemici” di Gesù, che già in Mc 3,5-6 decidono di ucciderlo). Comunque sia, le prime pagine del volume non sono la parte portante del lavoro, ma quasi un riassunto iniziale steso con una certa velocità per poi concentrarsi sul pezzo forte che è il cammino di Gesù verso Gerusalemme (Mc 8,27 – 10,52); prima di passare alla seconda parte del volume, vale la pena segnalare le pagine 84-92, che offrono alcuni spunti di metodologia a partire dall'analisi presentata nelle pagine precedenti.

La seconda e la terza parte del volume mettono a fuoco i capitoli di Marco che stanno al centro del lavoro, cioè quelli che raccontano il cammino di Gesù verso Gerusalemme; qui infatti Gesù si concentra in modo talora esclusivo sui suoi discepoli, per cui non abbiamo solo dati sparsi, ma una vera e propria catechesi ai e sui discepoli. La seconda parte analizza in modo dettagliato i tre annunci della passione, morte e risurrezione; le tre reazioni fuori luogo dei discepoli; i tre insegnamenti di Gesù a seguire; e inoltre altri pas-

saggi in cui c'è la presenza dei discepoli, quali la trasfigurazione. La terza parte si concentra su un unico episodio, quello di Bartimeo (cf. Mc 10,46-52). Giocando un po' con una categoria dell'analisi narrativa, potremmo dire che il rapporto tra il "tempo di Marco" e il "tempo di Fabre", cioè tra i versetti utilizzati da Marco e le pagine utilizzate da Fabre per commentare quei versetti, parla chiaro: l'episodio di Bartimeo è il centro del suo lavoro, con ben 50 pagine per sette versetti (pensiamo che per Mc 1,16-20 erano bastate cinque pagine...). Bartimeo, infatti, è il discepolo ideale; in lui ritroviamo tutti i tratti che erano emersi dalla catechesi di Gesù lungo il cammino: riconoscimento, sequela, libertà, perseveranza, integrazione (nel gruppo dei discepoli), rinuncia, comprensione, richiesta; e, specialmente, Bartimeo ha una fede che lo porta a seguire Gesù.

Il limite della seconda e terza parte del volume sta nella non chiara organizzazione dei dati; ci sono tante affermazioni di cui si fatica a cogliere la funzione nel disegno d'insieme: forse si poteva sfrondarle un po' o perlomeno aggiungere dei paragrafi di sintesi (che più avanti compaiono). Si tratta comunque di un'osservazione più stilistica che contenutistica, perché nell'ultima parte del lavoro si riesce finalmente a capire il centro del ragionamento portato avanti da Fabre; possiamo sintetizzarlo in tre punti. 1) Nel cammino verso Gerusalemme i discepoli sono in chiaro ritardo rispetto a Gesù; la funzione narrativa della loro incomprensione (si vedano specialmente 275-277) è la seguente: Gesù presenta se stesso, in quanto incamminato verso la passione, come modello per chiunque voglia essere suo discepolo; si tratta di un modello irraggiungibile, che pertanto chiede di essere seguito di continuo. 2) Bartimeo non è stato chiamato ufficialmente alla sequela, ma, ciononostante, dopo la guarigione inizia a seguire Gesù; fa la cosa giusta, al momento giusto; dell'analisi di Bartimeo, il tratto che più ritengo significativo è che è un personaggio dinamico, che cresce lungo il pur breve racconto: «ce qui apparaît avec Bartimée, c'est est que la compréhension est le fruit d'un itinéraire à la suite du maître et non une condition requise dès le début» (280). Questa sottolineatura apre al terzo punto, che è la risposta alla domanda iniziale: 3) il lettore non si può identificare completamente né con i discepoli né con i personaggi minori (i quali pure non sono tutti positivi!); il lettore di Marco si trova nella stessa situazione dei discepoli: dover seguire un modello troppo elevato; e in questo ha davanti a sé Bartimeo, le cui scelte risuonano come un invito a perseverare nella sequela: nessuno è già arrivato, all'inizio del cammino.

Trattandosi di un lavoro di teologia biblica, i brani analizzati da Fabre sono inevitabilmente molti, per cui si moltiplicano anche le possibilità di non essere d'accordo sull'uno o sull'altro dettaglio dell'analisi. Non mi soffermo su questo, né su alcune sviste tipografiche che capitano in lavori così ampi (cf. stimolante per stimolante [5]; discepolato per discepolato [12, n. 3]; Micchie per Michie in tutte le occorrenze in cui il suo volume viene citato). Rimangono aperte, a mio avviso, alcune questioni più generali, che possono portare ad ulteriori approfondimenti; ne indico due. 1) Marco non delinea contorni chiari per il gruppo dei discepoli: talora sono «i discepoli», talora «chi vuol venire dietro a me», «i dodici», tre fra i dodici, uno solo (Pietro); Fabre, con la maggior parte degli esegeti, sceglie di prendere tutti i testi possibili, senza esigere una coerenza lessicale che Marco non ha. Fatta questa scelta, non è chiaro perché Bartimeo sia posto di fronte a (se non proprio in contrasto con) tutti gli altri discepoli

come un ulteriore punto di riferimento per il lettore; tanto più che una delle caratteristiche che di lui vengono evidenziate è la sua integrazione nel gruppo (cf. 248). Mi sembra inoltre eccessivo l'accumulo di dati a favore di un Bartimeo esemplare: che incarni il discepolo ideale non ho dubbi, ma proprio in tutti quegli aspetti mi sembra esagerato. 2) Fabre ha ben messo in luce come i discepoli di Marco interpellino il lettore (ed è, come già detto, il punto di forza del suo lavoro); si potrebbe approfondire una tale riflessione, chiedendosi che ruolo giocano questi discepoli (Bartimeo compreso) nella trama complessiva di Marco, quindi nella sua cristologia e teologia, cioè nel delineare il personaggio Gesù e il personaggio Dio.

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Adesola Joan AKALA, *The Son-Father Relationship and Christological Symbolism in the Gospel of John* (Library of New Testament Studies 505). London – New Delhi – New York – Sydney, T&T Clark, 2014. xv-248 p.

Une préface remercie le Dr. Tom Thatcher de la Cincinnati Christian University, directeur de cette thèse, et tous ceux qui ont contribué à sa publication. Elle est suivie d'une Introduction qui expose son projet. La relation Fils-Père (*Son-Father Relationship*, en abrégé SFR), au centre du réseau symbolique dans l'évangile de Jean, accomplit le portrait de Jésus comme Fils dans le contexte de sa relation à Dieu le Père, selon Jn 20,31. Une première partie consiste en cinq chapitres qui déploient la structure théorique et méthodologique de l'étude. La deuxième partie, avec cinq autres chapitres, applique les fondements théoriques au Prologue de Jn 1,1-18 et à la Prière de Jean 17. Cette deuxième partie dresse ainsi la symbolique christologique de Jean à travers l'évangile. Elle se conclut par une réflexion théologique.

Le premier mérite de ce travail est de s'être confronté à ce champ d'étude vaste et complexe, en offrant des points de repère clairs et sûrs. Le ch. 1 de la première partie: "Le monde figuratif de Jean", commence par éclairer les problèmes généraux rencontrés par l'étude du langage figuratif, en particulier dans l'évangile de Jean. Le point de départ est pris dans l'*Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel. A Study in Literary Design* d'A. Culpepper (Foundations and Facets. New Testament; Philadelphia 1983), au départ de la narratologie appliquée au quatrième évangile, qui peut aussi servir de référence aux études consacrées aux "figures de style", *figures of speech*. Voilà bien saisie sur le vif la difficulté au plan de deux horizons culturels et linguistiques proches et pourtant différents. Une des grandes questions est dès lors de savoir comment entrent en relation symbolisme et figures de style dans l'évangile johannique. Le danger ici n'est pas mince d'en rester à un plan de considérations abstraites, qui n'est pas totalement évité dans cette première partie. Peut-être n'était-il pas possible de procéder autrement, mais il est vrai que le lecteur aspire à retrouver le texte au plus tôt. Une définition unique du symbole jo-

hannique apparaît comme une cause perdue d'avance (19). Toute définition dépend du projet et du but de la recherche en cours. En découle aussi la relation dynamique entre symboles et métaphores, sous-genre des symboles. Le choix d'un axe central comme celui de la relation entre Fils et Père s'avère ici décisif, en laissant à chaque chercheur une certaine liberté à cet égard d'après son propre point de départ. Il est sûr pourtant que l'option d'A. J. Akala est pertinente. Van der Watt et Zimmermann sont privilégiés dans leur approche respective pour affiner les instruments d'analyse.

Le ch. 2 passe en revue des contributions importantes en ces matières de théories du symbole chez Ricœur, Urban, Jakobson et Hinderer; le lecteur se demande où va conduire toute cette investigation, tellement semble touffu le maquis des théories, malgré la clarté de leur exposition. Avec le ch. 3, l'application de la théorie au symbolisme johannique aboutit à un tableau éclairant (60), utile par la suite pour l'étude du Prologue et de la Prière. Sans éviter un risque de conceptualisation, quatre axes se dégagent: *Representation, Assimilation, Association, Transcendence*. Il faut attendre la deuxième partie pour comprendre à quoi correspondent ces axes dans l'étude des textes retenus. Heureusement, chemin faisant, Jn 4 est rejoint pour faire comprendre en quoi consiste par exemple l'*organizational association* (70-71). La complexité du trajet, loin de faciliter l'accès au symbolique, lui entrave la route. Le ch. 4 aborde alors: *Narrative and Symbol in the Gospel of John*. Ce sujet est incontournable dans la recherche actuelle. La conviction s'approfondit pourtant sans cesse d'une possibilité de faciliter davantage et plus rapidement l'accès aux textes. L'arsenal narratif se retrouve: intrigue, caractère, temps et rhétorique (il faudrait encore distinguer entre différentes sortes de rhétoriques), appliqué à la SFR. Le ch. 5 revient sur: *Methodology*, sans dissiper l'impression que le propos théorique envahit trop le champ de conscience en le détournant du texte. La distinction est claire entre *Semantic Field of Reference and Semantic Domains*. Elle aboutit à un diagramme intéressant (106) en ce qui concerne le *Semantic Field of Reference for the SFR* où enfin le vocabulaire johannique est rejoint dans son épaisseur. *Narrative Development of the Characterization of the Son and Father* distingue entre: *Equality and Unity; Sending and Coming of the Son; Life-giving Authority; Love; Glorification and Revelation*, avec références concrètes à l'appui. Les *Methodological Steps* en vue de la deuxième partie sont ménagés avec soin et le lecteur se réjouit de retrouver le texte johannique. Le discours méthodologique n'a que trop duré!

Pour les procédures précédentes appliquées au Prologue et à la Prière, contentons-nous de signaler nos accords avec les résultats obtenus et nos résistances à certaines affirmations qui mériteraient plus de justifications. On ne peut d'abord que se réjouir, dans le concert actuel des études sur le Prologue, de voir maintenue la préférence pour l'interprétation retenue de καταλαμβάνω en 1,5: "*Verse 5 depicts the Son as the Light, who is victorious over darkness*" (128), contre une interprétation du même verbe dans le sens de "comprendre", un contre-sens fréquemment retenu. Rien n'est dit des deux versions, au pluriel et au singulier, du v. 13; le pluriel l'emporte largement dans la tradition manuscrite sur le singulier. La critique textuelle s'avère ici indispensable. L'interprétation donnée du v. 13 (135-137) est par ailleurs excellente. L'information, sous la rubrique: *Reflection*, au sujet des accointances

hellénistiques et sémitiques du λόγος sont les très bienvenues (129-133). Le principe fondamental du symbolisme johannique est enfin rejoint: l'articulation du Christ à l'Ancien Testament en termes d'accomplissement. À propos de σκηνώ en 1,14, la n. 48 (137) qui signale l'imagerie sacerdotale et liturgique dans les traditions sacerdotales de la Bible hébraïque mérite d'être soulignée, dans le prolongement des travaux de R. F. Collins et de M. Coloe. Par contre, la *Dualistic Transcendence* ne va pas de soi, malgré l'affirmation: "L'introduction symbolique du Fils reflète le dualisme indubitable dans la SFR" (142). L'opinion est pour le moins contestable d'après laquelle "le principe de transcendance symbolique décrit les fonctions transcendante, dualiste, révélatrice et transformative du symbolisme johannique, qui introduit dans le Prologue le projet théologique de l'évangile" (145). L'adjectif "dualiste" est de trop et n'honore pas l'interprétation de Jn 1,5. Ce point ne relève pas de la méthodologie, mais de principes philosophiques mis en œuvre dans l'herméneutique johannique.

La méthode suivie pour l'étude du Prologue se retrouve pour celle de la Prière. L'analyse théorique est cependant omise au profit de l'analyse narrative pour passer au plus vite à la corrélation entre le Prologue et la Prière du point de vue des mêmes principes de base (186-192). L'inconvénient dans cette procédure, c'est de survoler les difficultés réelles posées pour la compréhension des vv. 1-2, d'abord du point de vue d'une glorification déjà amorcée dès Jn 13,31-32 et que la plupart des exégètes renvoient aux chapitres de la Passion-résurrection qui suivent alors qu'il n'est plus question de "glorification" en 18-21, hormis pour celle de Dieu par Pierre en 21,19. Ensuite: comment comprendre exactement l'enchaînement des vv. 1-2? Comment comprendre aussi que les disciples soient dépeints comme des modèles de foi en 17,6-8 alors qu'ils ont été tancés d'incrédulité jusqu'en 16,32? Comment comprendre enfin "le Fils de la Perdition" sur l'arrière-fond de l'accomplissement de l'Écriture en 17,12? À ces difficultés, il n'est pas fait droit. À ces questions, aucune réponse n'est donnée parce que la méthode adoptée ne la rend guère possible. Ce n'est pas faire honte à cet immense travail qui mérite des éloges que de pointer certaines de ses limites. Sans doute fallait-il ces immenses détours pour ramener à ce qui seul importe vraiment et c'est le texte en sa splendeur native. Ces détours méthodologiques invitent de ce fait à la prudence pour ne pas leur prêter plus d'utilité interprétative qu'ils n'en peuvent avoir.

Le ch. 10: *Theological Implications*, conclut de manière enlevée cette traversée de la problématique symbolique et de l'évangile johannique. On peut ne point partager le "subordinationisme" ou le "subordinatianisme", suspecté dans le SFR (218), au nom même de l'argument de l'Un, si effectif en Jean 17. L'herméneutique de la suspicion, évoquée à propos du "gender", ne semble pas honorer non plus l'ampleur de l'horizon johannique. Une bibliographie sélective, un index des références bibliques et des auteurs cités facilitent la consultation de cette œuvre stimulante.



Paul J. BROWN, *Bodily Resurrection and Ethics in 1 Cor 15* (WUNT/II 360). Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2014. xv-312 pp.

La monografía nace de la revisión de la tesis doctoral que Paul J. Brown presentó en la Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (2012), bajo la dirección de Eckhard Schnabel. El estudio afronta la pregunta sobre el significado de la resurrección corporal para la ética paulina en 1 Corintios 15. Brown no pretende elaborar una teoría general sobre la relación entre ética y escatología. Él busca analizar tan solo la significación ética de la resurrección corporal en el pasaje en cuestión. El autor emplea metodologías exegéticas tradicionales (crítica textual, estudios sintácticos y semánticos, método histórico-crítico, etc.) y realiza estudios comparativos con la literatura grecorromana y con los datos que aporta la investigación arqueológica. Brown rechaza de plano la pertinencia de estudios retóricos basados en los modelos helenísticos (108-111) lo que, en mi opinión, merma los resultados de su monografía, ya que 1 Corintios 15 es precisamente uno de los textos donde más útil es el análisis retórico (cf. Aletti, Mitchell, Vos, Lambrecht, Witherington, etc.).

El estudio se desarrolla de forma convencional. Tras un primer capítulo en el que analiza el objetivo, la metodología y el estado de la cuestión, el segundo se centra en las creencias sobre el más allá en el Mediterráneo antiguo. El tercer capítulo es un ensayo de explicación histórico-crítica acerca de la postura de los que negaban en la Iglesia de Corinto la resurrección de los muertos. Brown se decanta por explicar la crisis a partir de la influencia de la mitología grecorromana en el modo en que los corintios entendían la escatología. El resto de capítulos es una exégesis de 1 Corintios 15 (cap. 4: 15,1-11; cap. 5: 15,12-34; cap. 6: 15,35-58) a partir de dicha clave hermenéutica. El capítulo final infiere las conclusiones de los análisis precedentes.

En el capítulo sobre las creencias grecorromanas sobre el más allá, Brown evidencia que existía una gran variedad de posturas: desde la primitiva creencia de la pervivencia en la tumba, a la idea de una permanencia, a modo de sombras, en el Hades, pasando por convicciones más ilustradas a nivel filosófico sobre la inmortalidad del alma, o la simple actitud nihilista de quienes pensaban que todo acababa con la muerte. Brown dedica varias páginas (43-49) a los casos de los héroes Asclepio, Heracles y Aquiles. La vida futura bienaventurada de estos personajes heroicos explica, según Brown (89-94), que los corintios aceptaran la resurrección de Cristo, el héroe de los cristianos, pero no la del resto de mortales. Así pues, negar la resurrección general no implicaba necesariamente negar la resurrección de Jesús. Él resucitaría como los héroes, pero no así los corintios. El capítulo acaba con una somera presentación de las creencias escatológicas de Pablo. Sus ideas no proceden del ambiente grecorromano, sino de su formación judía farisaica. Ahora bien, el acontecimiento de Damasco transformará la idea paulina de resurrección, (1) que hunde sus raíces en el poder de Dios manifestado en la resurrección de Cristo, (2) que implica la transformación del cuerpo y (3) que ya opera en la historia.

En el capítulo tercero, Brown intenta identificar un modelo de reconstrucción plausible acerca de las convicciones que llevaron a algunos corintios a negar la resurrección de los muertos (cf. 1 Cor 15,12). Él evalúa las tres propuestas más usuales: primero, la negación de la resurrección futura porque el final ya habría llegado (escatología realizada; cf. 1 Cor 4,8); segundo, la afirmación de la



inmortalidad del alma pero la negativa a una resurrección corporal (Filón, neoplatonismo, etc.); y, tercero, la negativa a cualquier tipo de vida futura (judaísmo saduceo, filosofía epicúrea, etc.). Brown va refutando cada postura y propone que el trasfondo que llevó a algunos a negar la resurrección en la Iglesia de Corinto radicaba en las convicciones mitológicas de su ambiente. Los corintios se verían muy influidos en su modo de considerar la vida futura por sus creencias en que héroes como Asclepio, Heracles o Aquiles (¡y Jesucristo!) sí que podían alcanzar la resurrección corporal, pero el resto de los mortales debían conformarse con un futuro más pesimista. Además estas ideas sobre la vida futura aparecerían desligadas de la ética. No existiría una relación de responsabilidad entre esta vida y la futura. Si no hay una vida mejor, no hay juicio que temer y no hay conducta moral que motivar. Seguidamente, Brown trata de identificar otras posibles influencias de la mitología grecorromana en el resto de la carta (97-102). Aquí sus resultados son más modestos. Por ejemplo, no me parece que el problema de las divisiones en 1 Corintios 1-4 se pueda explicar como una tendencia corintia a considerar a Pablo y a Apolo como héroes y semidioses, al estilo de Hch 14,11-12. La aclaración de 1 Cor 4,6 — que lo dicho sobre Apolo y Pablo debe ser aplicado a la comunidad — muestra que los ministros no han sido el problema último de las divisiones, sino un modelo desde el que recapacitar y cambiar de mentalidad.

Brown da un paso más (102-107), y no solo dice que el contexto mitológico pudo influir, sino que Pablo era consciente de ello y tomó los modos mitológicos para convencerlos con su propio lenguaje. Esta hipótesis resulta más arriesgada y no encuentro en la monografía datos fehacientes que la demuestren. Por ejemplo, Brown afirma que el apóstol cita la Escritura en 1 Corintios 15 de forma narrativa recurriendo a la historia de Adán, porque esta sería una forma muy efectiva de contrarrestar las narraciones mitológicas griegas. Sin embargo los estudios, sobre todo de Hays, pero también de Longenecker, Dunn, Barclay, etc. (cf. la buena colección de artículos sobre el tema en B. W. Longenecker [ed.], *Narrative Dynamics in Paul. A Critical Assessment* [Louisville, KY – London 2002]) han probado que la narratividad es un elemento constitutivo del evangelio paulino y de la forma que tiene él de citar la Escritura. No se trata de un modo *ad hoc* de responder a los devaneos mitológicos de los corintios, sino que es una manera propiamente suya de proceder.

En su exégesis, Brown (111) sigue sustancialmente la estructura propuesta por C. K. Barrett, “The Significance of the Adam-Christ Typology for the Resurrection of the Dead: 1 Cor 15,20-22.45-49”, *Résurrection du Christ et des Chrétiens* (1Cor 15) (ed. L. D. Lorenzi) (Benedictina. MS 8; Rome 1985) 120-121:

Veracidad de la resurrección		Naturaleza de la resurrección
vv. 1-11	La resurrección de Jesús	<i>sin paralelo</i>
v. 12	tesis	v. 35
vv. 13-19	argumentación paulina	vv. 36-44a
vv. 20-22	tipología Adán-Cristo	vv. 44b-49
vv. 23-28	victoria escatológica final	vv. 50-57
vv. 29-34	sección práctica/ética	vv. 58

En los cap. 4, 5 y 6, Brown va analizando problemas exegéticos de 1 Corintios 15 e intenta relacionarlos con su hipótesis acerca de las ideas mitológicas de los corintios y de las consecuencias éticas del texto paulino. Aunque no podemos entrar en los pormenores del estudio, comentamos algunas de sus propuestas. Brown hace un interesante análisis sobre qué textos veterotestamentarios podría suponer Pablo para decir que “Cristo murió por nuestros pecados según las escrituras... y que resucitó al tercer día según las escrituras” (1 Cor 5,3-5; 121-128). Para él, Pablo adoptaría una hermenéutica narrativa, ya germinal en la lectura judía de los textos, que pondría en relación a Isaac (Génesis 22), al Siervo sufriente (Is 52,13 – 53,12) y a Cristo. Su propuesta está bien argumentada. Sin embargo, me parece implausible pensar que “Paul, by claiming that the death and resurrection of Jesus was *according to the Scriptures*, was making a case that his foundational convictions about the subject were not *according to Homer*, as were theirs. Jesus was a hero, but not according to the standards of the Greco-Roman society and mythology” (128). En mi opinión, Pablo invoca las Escrituras no para sustraer a los corintios de su contexto pagano, sino porque ellas son el mejor testimonio para asentar, antes de comenzar a argumentar, lo que ellos ya creían. Además no creo que Pablo aceptara que Cristo fuera un mero héroe.

Respecto de 1 Cor 15,12-34, Brown muestra convincentemente cómo la argumentación paulina, que trata de demostrar la resurrección de los creyentes en conexión con la resurrección de Cristo, tiene claras consecuencias éticas (cf. 15,29-34). Otra tesis frecuente que él propone es que Pablo en 1 Corintios 15, a diferencia de otros textos paulinos, no motiva la necesidad de la respuesta ética en el juicio final o en la esperanza de la salvación futura, sino en la significación de la futura resurrección corporal. Sin embargo, me parece que Brown yerra en su énfasis ético (sobre 1 Cor 15,11-28: “Paul was not solely instructing them about cosmology and eschatology, ethical instruction was his final goal”: 154). No creo que Pablo aduzca la argumentación escatológica para que los corintios cambien de conducta ética, sino que su conducta, en positivo o negativo, afirma o niega de forma práctica la esperanza en la resurrección. Los elementos éticos y prácticos, por tanto, no son el fin de texto sino un medio para justificar la resurrección de los muertos.

Brown responde al espinoso problema de la gloria del cuerpo terreno (1 Cor 15,40-41) atribuyendo dicho cuerpo a Adán antes de su caída (185-195). Él basa su propuesta en la relectura que hacen algunos textos intertestamentarios de los relatos de la creación (cf. Gen 2,3 en 1 Cor 15,45), en los que aparecería el motivo de que Adán estaba revestido de la gloria divina antes de la caída. Según Brown, esta idea le era útil a Pablo para rebatir las creencias mitológicas de los corintios acerca de dioses y héroes luminosos. Aunque la tesis global es plausible, esta última idea sobre la contestación paulina de las ideas mitológicas corintias parece bastante rebuscada. De hecho Brown no encuentra ningún uso claro de *doxa* como alusión al resplandor del cuerpo en los textos helenísticos (cf. 192).

En síntesis, la monografía representa un valioso estudio sobre 1 Corintios 15 cuyas tesis fundamentales permanecen válidas: ciertamente la escatología mitológica helenística es un contexto adecuado para comprender el trasfondo del texto y Pablo releva las consecuencias éticas de la fe en la resurrección

corporal de los muertos. La obra, por tanto, es de obligada lectura para todo estudioso de la escatología paulina.

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### Varia

Robert EVANS, *Reception History, Tradition and Biblical Interpretation. Gadamer and Jauss in Current Practice* (Library of New Testament Studies 510). London – New York, T&T Clark, 2014. xviii-308 p. 16 × 24. £65.00

Over the past ten years interest in the field of reception theory has grown significantly. With *Reception History, Tradition and Biblical Interpretation* Robert Evans wades into this expanding body of study. The main thesis of the book advocates an adoption of Gadamer's hermeneutical concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* as a way to bring some coherence to the field of biblical studies which he feels is in danger of disintegrating under the influence of various competing methodologies (2, and 274). The history of how the Pauline exhortations to 'submit' (primarily Rom 13,1; Col 3,18 and Eph 5,21-22) have been interpreted is used in several case studies to probe the theoretical value of this approach. The various chapters of the book can then be roughly grouped according to whether they are dealing with Gadamer's phenomenological hermeneutic (chapters 1, 2, 6 and 9) or case studies on the 'submission' texts (chapters 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 10).

The first two chapters serve as a prolegomenon that introduces the reader to the primary concepts in Gadamer and Han Robert Jauss' work that Evans' adopts. Evans focuses primarily on Gadamer's concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* which he translates as the hermeneutical principle of how understanding is "affected by history and effective in history" (xvii and 8). The author's interpretation follows a fairly conventional understanding of this term and employs it as a heuristic handle to grasp Gadamer's complex thoughts in this area. However, it reduces the semantic range of Gadamer's use of the term, especially when he discusses what many would translate along the lines of "the history of effects", "effective history" or "history of influence" depending on the context and grammatical construction in which Gadamer employed the term (this reduction in the term's meaning is something that Evans acknowledges, 25).

A wider discussion of Gadamer's hermeneutical model and its application to biblical interpretation is found in chapter 9. Tradition, the role of authorial intentions, the priority of the question, and the function that prejudices play in interpretation are some of the topics covered in this chapter. Unfortun-

nately these concepts do not receive the same amount of attention that he devotes to *Wirkungsgeschichte*, nor are they woven into his argument throughout the rest of this monograph.

From Hans Robert Jauss' work Evans primarily adopts "the original horizon of expectations". How the original, and subsequent, interpreters understood these Pauline texts is reconstructed through historical-critical studies of the setting and culture of that time and literary features they would have recognized in the text (43). In this way Evans attempts to present an apologetic for an historical-critical approach "as an integral part of the paradigm of understanding texts" based on Jauss and Gadamer's hermeneutical models (50-51). For Jauss, the concept of "the original horizon of expectations" was not primarily a tool to reintroduce a historical methodology but "allowed us to compare past and present understanding and forces us to become aware of the text's history of reception which mediates the two horizons" (H.R. Jauss, thesis 4, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary History", *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* [Minneapolis, MN 1982] 28-32). While a historical methodology fits neatly within Jauss' hermeneutic, Gadamer was always on the defensive against a methodology being incorporated into his work, especially one that would be used to bring coherence to a field of study, such as biblical studies.

The case study in chapter 4 explores how the terms Paul employed in his exhortations to submit were written and received by reconstructions of Paul's audience and others down through history. Chapter 5 explores issues wider than lexical questions and considers how we understand a text "in terms of the specific situations in which it was written" (94). On the one hand, both chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate that historical approaches to either lexical or socio-historical settings have not yielded a definitive meaning for these Pauline exhortations to submit. On the other hand, these case studies on the history of how Paul's submission texts have been interpreted display "constraints on the range of meanings and applications" that the original readers would have recognized (92).

Chapter 6 returns to hermeneutical questions surrounding the concept of Reception History and its appropriation in biblical studies. There is a great deal of debate concerning how we understand and appropriate contingent particular interpretations and strands of interpretive continuity when examining the history of how a text has been interpreted. Unfortunately, in order to make his argument the author polarizes various contemporary approaches in order to "clarify what is at stake" (115). The result is that not only my work (primarily *Reception Theory and Biblical Interpretation*), but that of Anthony Thiselton, Ulrich Luz and others are pushed to an extreme where a reader would get the distorted impression from Evans that these authors posit a dominant canon of interpreters that should always be consulted when exploring the reception history for any particular text. Rather than "valorizing" particular interpreters I would argue (and I think I can speak for Thiselton and others as well) that one should take their clue from Wittgenstein and "look and see" if there is anything particular or in common between the interpretations in the reception history of a text. Furthermore, pushing another's work to the extreme violates Gadamer's hermeneutical principle of charity. "To conduct a conversation means to allow oneself to be conducted by the subject matter

to which the partners in the dialogue are oriented. It requires that one does not try to argue the other person down but that one really considers the weight of the other's opinion" (H.G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* [London 2004] 360-361).

The case study in chapter 7 attempts to trace the contours of the reception history of the Pauline submission texts according to a list of "principle commentators". Like his previous case studies in chapters 3, 4 and 5 this chapter contains a wealth of information on how these passages have been interpreted within the church. While he finds there is both continuity and discontinuity in the history of how these texts have been interpreted, he perceives little evidence of a dialogue between the principal commentators on these passages (178). He rightly raises the question as to whether criteria for identifying the principal interpreters are ideologically motivated when engaging in reception studies.

Chapter 8 presents a complimentary study on the contours of how these passages have been received within the English literary tradition, primarily, and concludes with some examples from American film and television. The interaction between biblical studies, literature, music and the arts in reception studies is an exciting field right now (see the beautiful three-volume set: H. J. Hornik and M. C. Parsons, *Illuminating Luke* [London – New York 2005-2008]). The first half of this chapter surveys how some of the classics of English literature have touched on Paul's submission texts. The second half is an eclectic survey of twentieth-century literature and film references.

Chapter 10 contains a case study that tests Evan's construct of *Wirkungsgeschichte* within theological hermeneutics. He argues that "ideological and theological commitments are integral to the historical contingencies of text or reader, and may be received as the legacy of a text to a reader" (260).

Evans' choice of the nexus of the Pauline submission texts for his case studies is an ambitious task, and his survey of how these texts have been interpreted is one of the strongest points of this monograph. "My case study is particularly rich in reception which assumes or argues for the use of ὑποτάσσειν in one text to be understood in terms of its occurrence in another" (93). Because the relationship of these texts to one another is constantly shifting in the history of how they have been read and interpreted, some incorporation of intertextuality would have aided in the discussion of this history.

Overall this study presents a detailed examination of Gadamer's concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* and Jauss' idea of reconstructing the "original horizon of expectations". As such it is a very selective exploration of Gadamer and Jauss' hermeneutic. The glaring weakness of this book is the way he polarizes the work of others to present his argument. Since the subtitle of the book is "Gadamer and Jauss in Current Practice", this aspect of the book should have been handled with a great deal more integrity.

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